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McCARVER AND TACOMA

By

THOMAS W.ickham PROSCH

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In loving memory of our parents, Morton M. McCarver and Julia A. McCarver, this volume is published and dedicated to the Pioneers of Oregon and Washington.

VIRGINIA McCARVER PROSCH.
ELIZABETH MORTON HARRIS.

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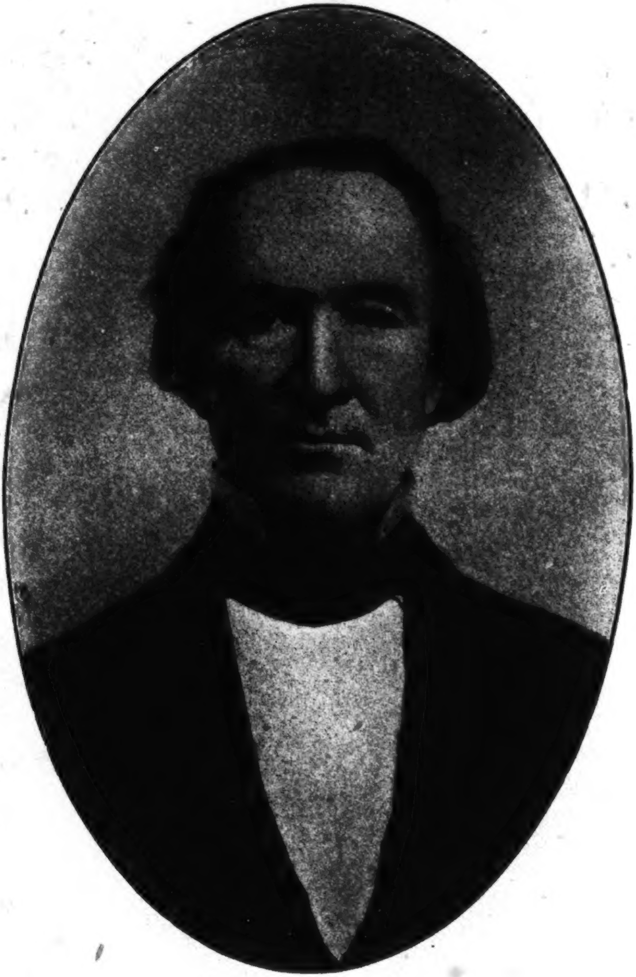


Morton Matthew McCarver

UNIV. OF MICH.

THE LIFE OF MORTON M. McCARVER

HIS ANCESTRY AND BIRTH

IN the latter part of the eighteenth century Joseph McCarver and Betsey Morton lived in the wilds and the woods of Southwestern North Carolina. In 1797 they were married, and in 1799 moved to the far West—the new, beautiful, Indian troubled Kentucky. It was in the time of the strong, courageous, first men and women of that famous blue grass region, which has attracted and produced so many of the leading citizens of this great country. The young couple located and lived on a farm in Madison County, near the town of Lexington. Children came to them—three daughters and one son. He was named Morton Matthew. Though the country was resourceful and grand, the times were unpropitious, the conditions were hard, and the struggle to live one of severity and deprivation. The fathers of the young men and women of those days had generally taken part in the Revolutionary war as Carolinians and Virginians, and at the time and for some years after fought the Indians until the latter were exterminated, or driven north, south, or west beyond the limits of their own territory. This was hardly accomplished before the breaking out of war with Tecumseh, in 1811, and with the British, in 1812. There was no disaffection then among the Kentuckians; no shirking. Their guns were in hand at the beginning, and at the end, on the 8th of January, 1815, they were in the front, doing the most effective work, at the battle of New Orleans, the last fight of the kind, it is hoped, in the history of the world between Britons and Americans.

HIS BOYHOOD IN KENTUCKY

IN a new country like that, settled by people of small means, and with so many years of warfare, with everything to do and so little to do with, without schools and almost without books, the bringing up of the children in an enlightened way was difficult almost to impossibility. One of these children was Abraham Lincoln. His early life, now so familiar to all, was the life of the boys and girls generally of that period. One of these boys was Morton M. McCarver. He was born two years before Lincoln, on the 14th of January, 1807. His surroundings were of the kind that developed him mentally and physically almost without assistance. In other words, as Jackson, Lincoln and Johnson were—self-made—he was, too. His parents were of religious temperament, and soon after his birth identified themselves with a sect called the Shakers, in which Mrs. McCarver became a prominent member and officer. His father died during his boyhood, but his mother lived on until her 81st year, in 1863. She was a strong woman, a leader among women and often among men, and from her the son evidently obtained many of the characteristics that later in life distinguished him, and that made him, also, a leader in any circle or group he found himself a part of. While this is true of the mother, and it is no less true that she did all she could for her boy, life at home to him became irksome. It was dull, laborious, unexciting. The narrow, cramped, religious atmosphere surrounding them was repellant to his inquiring, broadening mind. Probably the mother was a little hard on the boy, or at least he thought so, and she did not have the same appreciation that he did of his youthful gunnery, his feats of horsemanship, his swimming and frolics. Later in life, however, he was fond of relating his experiences in Kentucky. He used to say that John Denny, also self-made, one of nature's noblemen, and a pioneer of Illinois, Oregon and Washington, taught him to swim, though Denny was quite a number of years older than young McCarver. His frequent climbing of the cliffs of Kentucky was always a pleasant recollection to him, while he never could be made to believe that the birds of any other part of the world approached those of his native State in the sweetness and beauty of their song. The blue grass of Kentucky to him was unequalled elsewhere, and he never failed in the numerous places where he later made his home, to plant its seed, so that he might be reminded of the sod and fields of his boyhood. Illustrative of the difference then and now, he told an experience in one of the few schools in his section and of his time. The teacher thought to wind up his term in an agreeable, sociable manner. He invited all the boys to stay, and they accepted, from the smallest shaver up. They had apples and apple toddy, the latter being made of water, whiskey, sugar and apple. They liked it, and drank until they could drink no more, by which time not one of them was sober enough to get out of the school house. The love for horses, inherent in all Kentuckians, was a part of his nature that made itself apparent clearly and strongly to the end of his days. He preferred being above the horse rather than behind. He had relatives in the old home State named Shields and Daniels.

DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI IN 1821

FROM the time that he began to take notice of things beyond his immediate family surroundings, following the war of 1812, there was an extraordinary condition of change and development in the new States to the south, north and west. Gen. Jackson fought the Creeks and Seminoles; Florida was acquired from Spain; Indiana was made a State in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, and Missouri in 1821; newspapers became common; steamboats made their appearance; New Orleans gave promise of becoming the chief city of the country; adventurous spirits were reaching out towards the Rocky Mountains, and Texas was fairly involved in the troubles that there prevailed for forty years, and in which the people of the Mississippi valley were deeply and intensely concerned. Inklings and reports, more or less colored and exaggerated, of these steps in progress, these national and international events, came to Lexington, and were excitedly discussed on the streets among the men, at home with the women, and by the boys and girls whenever and wherever the opportunity offered. Morton McCarver was an active, nervous, restless young fellow, tall for his age, ambitious, and one who listened eagerly to these stories of life on the river, of far-off lands and strange peoples, of thrilling deeds and of chances for wealth and fame almost incredible in the little community of staid individuals among whom his lot had been cast. The more he heard and the more he thought, the more insipid, dull and finally unbearable became his surroundings. When he could stand it no longer, he, then fourteen years of age, put in a pack a few personal possessions, and, leaving behind home and friends, quietly struck out for the world and all there was in it. In this act he gave evidence of the enterprise and courage that ever after made themselves manifest in his dealings and deeds. He soon reached the Ohio river. It was a revelation to the country boy of wonderful character. The steamers, primitive as they were, at first filled him with awe. and for a long time were quite too fine for him to think of using or traveling on. Cincinnati and Louisville, then not one-tenth what they are now, impressed him greatly with their magnitude and the vastness of their population and traffic. The flatboats and rafts seemed just to his mind, with their plainness, their slowness, their labor and the usefulness of their every part. Urged by his necessities, he applied for a job on the first flatboat bound down the river. They were full-handed and did not require a boy, but this lad made so strong an appeal, was so willing, and seemed to have in him so much good stuff, that they told him to step on, and that they would give him a chance to go to New Orleans or any landing on the way. It was a delightful invitation to him, and was accepted without haggling or hesitation. The only trouble he had was that the heavily laden, lumbering, unpainted craft wouldn't get off before his mother or some one else came for him from Lexington. That trip down the two rivers, occupying months of time, was a practical education to the boy, superior to anything he could have had during the same time in any school in the land. All that he learned from the rough men about him, and from the strange and at times sinful scenes, was not conducive to his moral welfare, but it was wonderfully quickening, physically and mentally developing, and rapidly filled him with a knowledge of the real world, such as years would not have done on the old place at home.

LIFE IN LOUISIANA AND TEXAS

THE next few years were not eventful to him in a large sense. He was getting acquainted with men and things; was learning and developing. He found that the Southern States were not for him. A poor white man had no place there. He was dubbed "trash." Negro slaves suited the ruling class better. The black man performed the labor. If a white man did a bit of work it was at the wage of the slave—board and lodging, or a bare living. Morton ran against this condition frequently. He often told of the man that took, or seemed to take, advantage of his youth and poverty to get his house painted for his board. He told the tavern keeper that he had no money. The man said that would make no difference, if he could paint. "I want my house painted. Will you do it?" The job was eagerly accepted, and the young man toiled upon it diligently, faithfully and acceptably. When they squared up the board bill was just equal to what he expected to get as wages. In subsequent trades his sharpened wits profited by this experience. While down there he went into Texas, then under the flag of Mexico. He was at Galveston and elsewhere. A considerable number of other adventurous Americans were there, but there was nothing for them of real value. There were too many different kinds of people, and all were discordant. A few hundred Americans were a class to themselves, scattered, disorganized and weak, however; about as many Spaniards formed another class, also weak by reason of the recent revolution; the Mexicans, while more numerous, were a small minority compared with the Indians, the terrible Comanches and others. In addition were a few blacks and a sprinkling of mixed bloods and races. It was no place for one inclined to the observance of law and order, one desirous of establishing a home and living in accordance with the rules of civilized society. From the northern standpoint, it was not even a proper place for the brave American pioneer. Young McCarver quickly got enough of it and returned to the United States. When thoroughly satisfied that there was nothing for him in the lower river country, he went up the Mississippi, this time on a steamboat, and back to Lexington. To his surprise he found that the home of his mother was no longer his; that according to the hard rules of her church they were dead to each other on earth. So strong of mind was she, and so firm of faith, that she never saw him afterwards. While much hurt by this cold-blooded, inhuman rule in his own case, he was not put down by it, but proceeded at once to carve and make a new place for himself. Now he was a vigorous, self-reliant, bright young man, one who had traveled, one who had had remarkable experiences, and one who knew things and could do them. He was warmly welcomed, and he commanded and was given a large measure of respect in the extensive circle of his former acquaintances. He opened such books as he could get, and studied them diligently, and for a time took instructions under a local practitioner with a view to becoming a doctor of medicine. Though he loved Kentucky with all his warm nature, he soon became convinced that it, too, like its more Southern sisters, was cursed by slavery. He was prejudiced also against the negro, not on account of his color, but on account of the trouble that seemed unavoidable whenever and wherever he made his appearance among the whites. McCarver thought that, as far as possible, it was better for the races to live apart. With these feelings agitating him, he resolved to go again, this time to the far North and the free West. The strength of this race prejudice in him made itself apparent repeatedly thereafter, and, as will be seen later, particularly in the establishment of governments in Oregon and California, in which he took active and prominent part.

DISTINGUISHED LEXINGTON FAMILY—THE BRECKENRIDGES

NO family in Kentucky, and perhaps no family in the United States, was more distinguished during the first three-quarters of the Nineteenth Century than that of the Breckenridges. They went there among the first, and a home was established at what they called Cabell's Dale, near Lexington, by John Breckenridge. From 1796 to 1806, when he died, he was Attorney General of Kentucky, U. S. Senator and Attorney General of the United States. On account of the high character, intellectuality and activity of their members, as well as their superior material surroundings, Cabell's Dale and the family became noted above all others of their kinds in that part of the country. There three of the nation's leaders were born, the first being John Breckenridge in 1797, a graduate of Princeton, a Doctor of Divinity in the Presbyterian Church, a great educator, editor of a religious journal, minister in charge of churches at Baltimore, Philadelphia and Lexington, and who at the time of his early decease, in 1841, was pastor-elect of a New Orleans church and President-elect of Oglethorpe University in Georgia; the second was Robert J. Breckenridge, born in 1800, who followed a similar course to that of his brother, being a Presbyterian Doctor of Divinity, a religious writer and teacher of unusual power, a man of wide repute, a strong supporter of the Union during the war of rebellion, and who was chairman of the Republican National Convention of 1864 that renominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency; the third was the nephew of these two men, John Cabell Breckenridge, born in 1821, who chose the law, war and politics for his field of operations, and who was a major of Kentucky Volunteers in the Mexican war, who next was in the State Legislature, was Representative in Congress 1852 to 1856, was Vice President of the United States 1857 to 1861, was nominee of the Democratic party for the Presidency in 1860, against Stephen A. Douglas, another Democrat, and Abraham Lincoln, Republican, Breckenridge getting the electoral votes of nine Southern States; was U. S. Senator in 1861, and was a Major General and Secretary of War in the service of the Southern Confederacy during the four following years. After their varied and divergent experiences these three men made their way home, and died in the land that gave them birth. As a devoted Lexingtonian and a loyal Kentuckian, McCarver gave the Breckenridges the most unbounded admiration, and he rejoiced in their worldly successes and honors as he would have in like achievements for himself or those nearest him in tie and kin. He knew the Breckenridges at home, he met them later whenever opportunity offered, and he frequently wrote to them. In 1857, when he was for several months in Washington City, he was a number of times an honored guest of the Vice President, who pleased his Pacific

Coast friend by the presentation to him of a handsome ambrotype of himself. Breckenridge's adherence to slavery and his efforts to disrupt the Union were the only points of difference between these two old Kentucky friends. McCarver was a Democrat, and it was a hard question for him to decide, in 1860, between Douglas, who more nearly represented his own political principles, and who had taken much interest in Oregon, and his friend Breckenridge, who had an additional claim upon him in the nomination for Vice President upon the same ticket of Gen. Joe Lane, then Oregon's most honored citizen, also a warm friend of McCarver's. It is not known how he voted, but it is likely that his feelings of personal friendship for Breckenridge and Lane caused his vote to go their way. In what followed during the succeeding five years, it will be seen from the foregoing that even members of the Breckenridge family were quite far apart. Douglas's services to the far West and Pacific Coast gave him a strong claim upon the gratitude and suffrages of the people thereof. In the House of Representatives, during his earlier years, 1843 to 1846, he was one of the strongest advocates of the American claims to all the Pacific Coast from Mexico north to 54:40, expressing himself as willing to have the nation go to war if necessary to maintain its rights thereto. He also favored the acquisition of Canada, Cuba and Mexico, making the United States "an ocean-bound Republic." Further, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, first in the House and then in the Senate, he prepared the bills that passed Congress to create the Territories of Minnesota, Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Kansas and Nebraska, and also the bills under the terms of which Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota and Oregon were admitted to the Union of States. As a partial recognition of his public services to their pioneer citizens, Douglas counties were created in after years in Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington and Wisconsin, while towns, townships and postoffices called Douglas are very numerous in all the Western States. Douglas was also one of the strongest of Union men, declaring that secession was madness, that it was a crime, and that it must be put down at all hazards and all costs. As was the case with Henry Clay, Daniel Webster and James G. Blaine, a sort of fatalism kept Douglas from being President. In 1852 he sought the nomination, but it went to Franklin Pierce instead. In 1856 it was again refused him, in favor of James Buchanan. In 1860 he secured the coveted honor, to be beaten at the polls through fierce dissensions in his own party.

TO ILLINOIS IN 1829; TO IOWA IN 1832-3

BUT enough of this digression. Unable to overcome his repugnance to conditions in Kentucky, and to quell his rising ambition to do something and be somebody in the world, young McCarver, in 1829, moved over to Illinois, a newer State and one then rapidly taking a more prominent place in the national sisterhood. There he lived four years. His eye was on the western side of the Mississippi river, however, and he came to the determination very soon that his future home would be there. That country (now Iowa) then belonged to the Sac and Fox Indians, and white men were not allowed to intrude upon it. It was evident, though, that an arrangement must and soon would be made with the red men by which they would yield at least a part of their landed possessions. In fact, treaties had been made in 1804 and 1816, but they were disregarded on the part of the Indians and not enforced on the part of the whites. The situation was getting to be strained and intolerable. During the years that this continued young McCarver did not establish himself with fixedness in any place. He spent a part of the time at Galena, a part at Monmouth, a part at Rock Island, and elsewhere. He worked and he traded, with the result that he acquired and accumulated considerable, including money, property, and a family. On the 6th of May, 1830, he married Miss Mary Ann Jennings, at Monmouth, and during the following twelve years became the father of five children, two in Illinois and three in Iowa, of whom only one, Mrs. Mary A. Hurley, of Portland, Oregon, is now living. Meantime the troubles with the Indians increased. Black Hawk was chief of the hostiles of the tribe; Keokuk chief of the peaceables. Black Hawk's home was in Illinois, at and near Rock Island. He hated the Americans and had fought against them with

Tecumseh and the British twenty years before. He sent an emissary into Canada at this time, who brought him back word that if he began a war upon the Americans the British would aid him. In this statement the chief was deceived, as he too late realized. He and his band were driven out of Illinois by the Governor and State militia, in 1831, and he then promised to stay out. In 1832 he crossed the river and made attacks upon the white people in several parts of Illinois, moving northwardly and ending the struggle in Wisconsin, where, in two engagements with the soldiers, he was beaten, first by Gen. Dodge and then by Gen. Atkinson. M. M. McCarver connected himself with the State forces during these troubles, the last of Illinois with the American Indians. Black Hawk was captured in August, and the following month, under the pressure of necessity, his tribe concluded a treaty with Gen. Winfield Scott, by which they gave up all of what afterwards became Eastern Iowa. The Indians retired to the west fifty miles or more. The Black Hawk troubles were noted for the participation in them of so many persons who then were among the distinguished of the land, or who later became so. Among these persons were those already named, Gen. E. P. Gaines, Wm. S. Harney, Phil Kearney, Robert Anderson, Albert Sidney Johnson, Jefferson Davis, Zachary Taylor and Abraham Lincoln, the last two named becoming Presidents of the United States in after years, Davis becoming President of the Confederate States, and the other four not already of high rank becoming generals of much fame. The treaty made by Gen. Winfield Scott and Keokuk did not go into effect, of course, until after its ratification by the Senate and the expiration of a set time. That time was the 1st of June, 1833. Impatient white men, who had long been waiting for the chance, selected their lands and proceeded to occupy them immediately upon the signing of the treaty by the Indians. The military would not permit this, and sternly prevented such aggressions by those of their own race. It is related of Lieut. Jeff Davis, who was sent by Col. Zachary Taylor to expel some settlers in the northern district, that he left his soldiers on the east side of the river, went alone among the intruding white settlers, and by mild but positive statements he convinced them that their action was premature, their course wrong, and that they must retire. They did so, and he left their cabins and other properties untouched. Davis's civility and kindness in this matter were in marked contrast with Lieut. Gardner's course at Burlington, who forcibly and brutally drove away the settlers and destroyed by fire their improvements. McCarver was one of the men so treated by Gardner, and his two brothers-in-law were others. These men were Simpson S. White, who had married Hulda Jennings, and Amzi Doolittle, who had married Phoebe White. Berryman Jennings, brother of the two Miss Jennings, married Mercie White, a sister of Simpson and Phoebe. Mr. Jennings was not concerned at this time in the mutual business arrangements of the other three men. They had long contemplated with earnest desire Shokoquon, as the Indians called a rocky bluff on the west side of the river, the meaning of the name being Flint Hill, and there they had determined to plant their stakes. They were the first to get over, and the first to locate lands. Driven off by the soldiers, they again went over, and a second time were sent away and their cabins burned. The cliffs there are of carboniferous limestone, 150 feet high, furnishing material in abundance for house building, street paving, and the making of lime. Upon the cliffs was a thick covering of clay and vegetable mould. Hawkeye Creek there enters the Mississippi river, and from it the land rises gradually to the level of the surrounding table land, the central portion of the town having somewhat the appearance of an amphitheater. There were fine views on the hill, and at its foot was a tract suitable for business purposes, while on the Illinois side the land was low and subject to overflow. The name Burlington was suggested by John B. Gray, a Vermonter, and urged with such pertinacity that it was adopted by the town proprietors.

THE FOUNDING OF BURLINGTON

IOWA was a part of the Louisiana Purchase. In 1834 the jurisdiction of Michigan was extended over it; in 1836 it became part of the new Territory of Wisconsin, and in 1838 Congress created the Territory of Iowa, which in turn was admitted as a State in 1846. The first settlement was that of Julien Dubuque, a French Canadian, where the city and county of Dubuque now are, he going there in 1788 and dying there in 1810. The next was that of another Canadian named Tesson, who, in 1799, made a location in Lee County, and did a little farming and Indian trading. The first real, substantial movement, under the laws of the United States and by its citizens, with a view to the development of the country and its habitation and civilization, was that of Doolittle, White and McCarver. The treaty was signed at Davenport Sept. 21st, 1832. The eager, impatient McCarver was there; he saw Scott, Keokuk and the others sign, and without further waiting got on his horse and rode south to his family and friends. The next day they were on the land they had previously determined upon as their own. Ejected by the military and compelled to wait until June, 1833, they spent the intervening time further preparing for the scheme they had in view. One feature of this was the operation of a ferry boat, which they built in the fall of 1832. It was a flatboat, open, and moved by oars, a cheap affair, but good enough for the time and trade. As they were going into the town business they must make it possible for people to get to their town. Other men were moving about, and the partners were feverish with anxiety. In the spring they thought, as the Senate had acted favorably upon the treaty, that it was safe to make another effort, only to have the soldiers come upon them in April and the second time burn their cabins. June 1st, however, they could no longer be held back by any one, and they were across the river by dawn.

Very soon after Dr. Wm. R. Ross and Solomon Perkins came along, and took claims adjoining those of the three first. Ross was a surveyor, and he was employed by White, Doolittle and McCarver, as soon as his own temporary improvements were made, to lay off into lots, blocks and streets a part of their land. Ross opened the first store, one of general character, and he was also the first postmaster, the office in the beginning being called Flint Hill. Perkins became the first sheriff of Desmoines County, created by the Michigan Legislature, with seat at Flint Hill, as the place was yet persistently called by some people instead of Burlington. Dubuque County was created at the same time, and the two were the only counties then in what afterwards became Iowa. In these days it seems remarkable that Michigan should have been placed in legal control, instead of Illinois or Missouri, but it probably was because Michigan was a Territory at the time. Stephen T. Mason, Governor of Michigan, issued a proclamation announcing the jurisdiction of Michigan, which he sent to the new country, and which was formally and publicly read by Mr. McCarver, in the presence of citizens and military, at Montrose, in the last week of September, 1834. The purport of the proclamation was that the laws of the United States and Michigan had been extended over the country covered by what was known as "the Black Hawk purchase," and that all persons would be required to heed and obey them. Lieut. Crossman, after the reading, drew his sword, and said that as a soldier of the Republic it was his duty to acknowledge the supremacy of the civil law, and that he would ever be found ready to aid in its enforcement when his services were needed. In 1836 and 1837, while Iowa was a part of the newly-established Territory of Wisconsin, a bill was enacted by Congress donating to the towns of Burlington, Fort Madison, Bellevue, Dubuque, Peru and Mineral Point 640 acres each for town purposes. It was a beneficent act that it would have been well for the country if its provisions had been more generally extended throughout the Western Territories. Morton M. McCarver, George Cubbage and W. A. Corell were Commissioners appointed under the terms of the act to carry out its provisions. This act was of considerable benefit to Burlington, though its benefit to McCarver was doubtful, as he had hundreds of lots and acres of his own to sell.

LIFE, ADVENTURES AND CHANGES IN THE HAWKEYE STATE

DURING McCarver's residence in Iowa he was concerned in many interesting adventures, events and affairs of historic moment. The lead mines of Dubuque drew him to the north, and with others he settled at Galena, a few miles distant. Taking advantage of the abandonment by the Indians of Dubuque, about 1830, a considerable number of men from the Illinois side crossed the Mississippi river and took possession. They did much work, almost entirely of a development or preliminary character, when they were ordered away by Capt. Zachary Taylor, U. S. A. They refused to go, alleging abandonment by the Indians and pointing to their own improvements. The Captain, unable to compel obedience, went off, returning before long, however, with a company of soldiers, who speedily removed the intruders. The Indians then returned and went to mining, profiting materially by the work done by the white men from Galena. In 1839 the Mormons settled at Nauvoo—said to mean "Beautiful"—on the Illinois side, a few miles below Burlington. They made rapid headway in town building, and were no less rapid in causing agitation and disturbance. They remained there about seven years, when, under duress, they removed to Salt Lake. While the affair was one of Illinois almost entirely, the people of Southeastern Iowa, where Burlington is situated, were greatly wrought up over it, and in the ultimate defeat of the Mormons they rejoiced heartily. In their case it is not unlikely there was a bit of selfishness involved, for with the centralizing efforts of the Mormons Nauvoo would probably have been a greater town than Burlington; in fact, it was in the later years there of the Mormons, but to-day it is a mere village, while Burlington is a fine city of 30,000 inhabitants. In 1842 young John C. Breckenridge visited his old Kentucky friend, McCarver, and one feature of his entertainment was a big hunt in the country a few miles to the west. They found and killed buffalo, the last animals of that kind known to have existed in a wild condition so far east, where years before they had roamed in droves of thousands. One day McCarver was riding through a lonely part of the Territory. Evening came, his horse was about worn out, and both were anxious for a resting place. A solitary dwelling house was to be seen. Upon application, the claim holder said that they could stop, but that under the peculiar circumstances then prevailing the horse would be better cared for, perhaps, than the man. McCarver replied that he did not want much, that he was used to roughing it, and that he would gladly take what he could get and pay for it. Next morning, after a very sound sleep, he learned to his astonishment that a son had been born to the worthy couple during his slumbers, and that they had already determined to name the boy after the father—George Buchanan. Leaving a small gift for the family's first born, McCarver rode on, and the incident had all but passed from his recollection until many years afterwards it was brought back in a most striking manner, as will be told later in these pages. Iowa had remarkable experience in the matter of political organizations. Its first national flag was that of France, then that of Spain, again that of France, succeeded by the flag of the United States. During the hundred years that it has been a part of the American Nation, it has been included in the District of Louisiana under the Government of Indiana; in the Territory of Louisiana; in the Territory of Missouri; in the unorganized territory of the United States; in the Territory of Michigan; in the Territory of Wisconsin; in the Territory of Iowa, and in the State of Iowa. During the ten years that McCarver lived in it, there were four of these conditions. In 1833-34 it was unorganized and without law of any kind; in 1834-36 it was a part of Michigan; in 1836-38 it was Wisconsin, and in 1838-43 Iowa. McCarver not only had this remarkable experience, but he later added to it the honors of pioneer life in four other States of the Union—Oregon, California, Washington and Idaho—saying nothing of his earlier career in Kentucky, Texas, Louisiana and Illinois.

APPOINTMENT AS COMMISSARY GENERAL

WISCONSIN was cut in two parts in 1838, the southern portion becoming Iowa. On the 4th of July the law went into effect. Burlington was the first capital, and Robert Lucas the first Governor. The capital went afterwards to Iowa City, and in 1857 to Desmoines. On the 7th of January, 1839, Gov. Lucas, as Commander-in-Chief of the Iowa military forces, issued General Order No. 2, appointing Morton M. McCarver Commissary General of the Iowa militia. McCarver took much interest in the new office, and the title of General that he thus acquired stayed by him through life. In Oregon he later held a similar commission.

LEADING IOWANS OF EARLY DAYS

DURING these early years in Burlington McCarver became well acquainted with a number of men then prominent there who later became prominent also on the Pacific Coast. Col. William H. Wallace, who was Speaker of the first Iowa Legislature, afterwards became Governor both of Washington and Idaho, and Delegate to Congress from each. Col. W. W. Chapman, the head of one of Oregon's historic families, was Wisconsin's first U. S. Attorney and Iowa's first Congressional Delegate. George H. Williams, who was a State Judge in Iowa from 1847 to 1853, and in the latter year came to Oregon as Chief Justice, has since been U. S. Senator, Attorney General of the United States, and in 1904-5, and at the advanced age of 82 years, Mayor of the great city of Portland. There were others also.

PREPARES FOR REMOVAL TO OREGON

GENERAL McCARVER was a man of broad scope and much activity. As seen here, he not only could simultaneously cultivate land, sell his own town lots, sell lands for several cities, run a ferry, serve the nation and Territory, but could do other things as well. During the same time he was a member of the mercantile firm of McCarver & White. There he met and dealt with many of the leading men of the Territory. A frequent visitor to the store and patron during the few remaining years of his life was the celebrated chief Black Hawk. Standing behind a counter and wrapping up goods was not to Mr. McCarver's taste, and every little while he would rebel and go off to St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, and other cities. He saw the possibilities of Chicago quite plainly, and he speculated in lands there among the first. The hard times caused by the financial crash of 1837 affected the Western country severely, and prevented the venturesome spirits making the money they hoped for. The depressed period continued for a number of years. It finally had such effect upon McCarver that, with other causes, he could endure the situation no longer. The other causes were the long, cold winters in one case, and in another the conviction that came upon him that Burlington, though destined to be a good town and one of the best in Iowa, would never compare with Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis and New Orleans, along the same system of waterways. He saw that the people of Iowa were spreading themselves over the country very evenly, making it a rural State instead of an urban one. His enterprise led him too far at times, and he became involved in debt so deeply that there seemed to be no chance for getting out. It subsequently took ten thousand dollars of money made by him in California to extinguish the indebtedness, principal and interest, he had contracted in Iowa. In the earlier 40's Missouri's Senators, Thomas H. Benton and Louis F. Linn, agitated the Oregon question on every occasion. Benton was aggressive in all that related to the Western country, favoring the war with Mexico, a railroad to the Pacific, military posts on the frontiers, the opening of trade in every remote quarter, and the holding of Oregon firmly and unyieldingly. His record in Congress upon these matters has been approved by the Legislatures of Oregon and Washington since by the creaton in both States of Benton counties. Linn did not live and serve so long as Benton, but during his period of public life was quite as zealous and industrious. His aim took the direction of encouraging the immigration of American citizens to Oregon by liberal and unprecedented donations of public land, he hoping in this way to induce thousands of strong and patriotic citizens to occupy the country then in dispute, and thereby settle the contention in favor of our Government. Linn's bill provided for the acquisition by each settler of 640 acres, and by or for each minor child of 160 acres. An average family would get by its terms 1280 acres; a large family, 1600 acres or more. Linn's efforts in behalf of the first settlers of Oregon have been gratefully remembered in the creation of Linn County and the towns of Linnton and Linn City. With increasing unrest, McCarver read and heard of the great West that was farther west even than Iowa. Each year he learned or knew of more people going there. Reports came East of the Hudson Bay Company doings, and of its men McLoughlin, Douglas, Ogden, Tolmie, Simpson; of the missionaries Lee, Parker, Whitman, Spalding, Eells, Walker, Hines, Richmond, Parrish, Blanchet, Brouillet; of the lay brothers Gray, Shepard, Beers, Edwards, Wilson, Abernethy, White, Babcock; of the fur traders and hunters, Wyeth, Smith, Meek; of Capt. Bonneville and his party, Lieut. Slacum and his ship, and Capt. Wilkes and his vessels; and finally, of the traders Cushing, Couch, Young, and a host of others. It was hard to resist the temptation to go in 1842, when a party of 111 persons, much the largest to that time, started overland for Oregon, headed by Elijah White, Medorem Crawford, L. W. Hastings, A. L. Lovejoy and Columbia Lancaster, but McCarver was not then ready. He was perfecting his plans and making his arrangements. It was a great undertaking, for such a move meant more in time, labor, expense and peril than immigration ever before meant in any quarter of the globe. The inducements were many and fascinating. The large land grant was very attractive, and hardly less so was the desire for adventure in a new, distant and comparatively unknown country. Quite as strong a motive, if not even stronger, was that of patriotism. There is no question that the great mass of the immigrants prior to 1847 were imbued through and through with the determination "to save Oregon," and they were fully prepared to back the President with guns in their hands in his declaration of "54:40 or fight." The Astoria experience of 1813 was not to be repeated, and, in fact, not a few of the early American settlers seriously contemplated the means and methods of taking Fort Vancouver and other British posts in the event of international trouble. More than once the people lined off in the direction of their national inclinations, and many a time, as Oregon history records, did sturdy individual settlers give evidence of their American prejudice, courage and determination, both east of the Cascades and west, in the Willamette valley and on Puget Sound. The British, too, understood the situation, knew the danger that confronted them, and did, when too late, what they could to strengthen their position and hold upon the country. For this purpose they brought from Canada priests and immigrants, put an additional bastion upon the Fort Vancouver stockade, kept a ship of war in and about the Columbia river, and another on or about Puget

Sound, extended their agricultural operations, and discouraged the settlement of Americans north of the river, which they hoped to have established as the international line. Things did not work as they wanted, however, for their own priests and immigrants became citizens of the United States, and after the arrival of the great immigrations of 1843 and 1844 "joint occupancy" was at an end. The American settlers would not have it. They took possession of the country, organized their own government, and conducted affairs in true republican style until the administration at Washington by diplomacy had arranged for the abandonment on the part of the British of the country south of the 49th parallel. The influence of the American missionaries and American settlers had a deciding effect upon this contention, for had it not been for their presence in the country, their appeals to and their influence upon the Government at Washington, and their relatives and friends in the Eastern States, all of Oregon, from the Mexican line north, would have gone to Great Britain without a doubt. The indifference of our own people, the sole and long occupancy of the British, with perhaps some slight concessions elsewhere on the part of the latter, would certainly have settled the disputed question fully and finally in their favor. From the American standpoint, all praise should be given the brave, hardy, resolute, patriotic citizens, whose presence and efforts, mingled with their perils and sufferings, and their testimony as to the value of the country, induced and compelled their own Government to unite with that of Great Britain in peaceably adjusting the matter of sovereignty that had been in dispute almost half a century.

THE OREGON AGITATION OF 1842-3

DURING the fall of 1842 agitation began among those contemplating immigration to Oregon. As the months went by it increased. In the following winter preparations were making by many individuals, and little parties began to arrange to go together. Oregon was talked in the newspapers and Congress. In the spring of 1843 public meetings were held in Ohio, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri. In the latter State Peter H. Burnett addressed the people upon the subject in a number of places. He had determined to go, and wanted others to share with him the better conditions and more numerous opportunites that he believed awaited them on the Pacific Coast. As far as he was personally concerned, Burnett, though evidently a little florid in his speeches at the time, was fully justified in coming, for he did well in Oregon and California, becoming rich, being a Judge in both States and Governor of one, and being a man of prominence, respected and distinguished, in Pacific Coast affairs, as long as he lived. In Iowa a number of meetings were held in Louisa County, next to Burlington, and the Oregon Emigration Society was there organized. At the meetings held, in April, speeches were made in favor of the movement by Judge Williams, General Clark, Rev. Fisher, Rev. Hinkle, Stephen Witcher, J. B. Barker and others. A plan of procedure was arranged, including a statement as to necessary equipment, road officers, and route to be chosen. A committee reported the following, illustrative of the attractions of the new country:

> That from the information they (the Committeemen) have obtained from various sources, they believe Oregon Territory to be far superior in many respects to any other portion of the United States; they believe it to be superior in climate, in health, in water privileges, in timber, in convenience to market, and in many other respects; they believe it to be well adapted to agriculture and stock raising; also holding out great inducements to mechanics of the various branches; they would, therefore, recommend to every person possessing the enterprise and patriotic spirit of the true American citizen to emigrate to Oregon Territory at as early a date as possible, and thereby secure to themselves a permanent and happy home, and to their country one of the fairest portions of her domain.

MOTIVES OF THE OREGON IMMIGRANTS

IT is just as well to again account for the reasons that governed the people in coming to Oregon at that time. As stated before in these pages, it was the desire to get into a new country, and what was said to be a better country, and there to make both fortune and name in its future development and growth. Not less strong than these motives was the other one of patriotism, referred to in the report of the Iowa committee. It was made the duty of every man who went to take a gun, and every man going knew of the threatened clash between the two governments claiming Oregon. They were not eager for trouble, but if there was to be trouble they intended being in it on behalf of their own country and government. These intentions they gave further evidence of after their arrival in Oregon, by strongly and unqualifiedly Americanizing the land in every settlement and every word and act. There were also other motives, as those of the migratory and adventurous class, and those of philanthropic and religious character. John Minto, born in England, but who came to America when eighteen years of age, and to Oregon in 1844, in a paper in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, says that he and others discussed the question in 1842, and that he was then determined to stand upon the side of the United States in whatever contention followed. If an Englishman would so say and act, what would not an American do? Minto gives the reasons that actuated R. W. Morrison to come at the same time:

> First, he believed that Oregon of right belonged to the United States, and he was going to help make that right good. Second, he supposed there were many of the native race in Oregon who needed instruction to a better condition of life than was then theirs, and, though no missionary, he had no objection to help in that work. Third, he was unsatisfied to live longer so far from the markets, that there were few products he could raise whose value would pay cost of production and shipment, especially when the producers, who would neither own nor be a slave, had to compete with breeders and owners of slaves. For these reasons he was going to Oregon, where there would be no slaves and all would start in life even.

Peter H. Burnett, in his "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer," voiced the same general sentiments as those governing him in his efforts and movements in 1842-43. His wife was a sufferer from ill-health, and they thought the trip and change would do her good. They were deep in debt, with no apparent prospect of getting out. They hoped for the passage of Senator Linn's bill, by the terms of which he and his family would acquire sixteen hundred acres of land in Oregon. In addition to these reasons, he says:

> I saw that a great American community would grow up, in the space of a few years, upon the shores of the distant Pacific, and I felt an ardent desire to aid in this most important enterprise. At that time the country was claimed by both Great Britain and the United States, so that the most ready and peaceable way to settle the conflicting and doubtful claims of the two governments was to fill the country with American citizens. If we could only show by practical test that American emigrants could safely make their way across the continent to Oregon with their wagons, teams, cattle and families, then the solution of the question of title to the country was discovered. Of course, Great Britain would not covet a colony settled by American citizens."

The common sentiment and guiding motive of the immigrants of that period is truthfully and moderately portrayed in the quotations and statements foregoing. Occasionally, speeches and publications were made of harsher, wilder and more irrational character, as the newspapers of the time show, but it is not necessary to reproduce them in this connection. Another who gave much help in increasing and directing the immigration of 1843 was Dr. Marcus Whitman. He had been a resident of the Walla Walla country, then Oregon, since 1836, but had been down the Columbia river several times, and was well acquainted with the whole region. He had left his mission the previous fall, accompanied by A. L. Lovejoy, and had made an overland all-winter trip to the Atlantic, a trip that has since become one of the most famous in ancient or modern story. He was at Washington, New York and Boston in March, and in April and May elsewhere in the country. He delivered addresses, wrote for the papers, and otherwise gave out information intended to educate the people concerning the Pacific slope, and his presence and statements had much to do with the westward movement that year. His motives were patriotic, philanthropic and religious, with nothing in them of sordid or selfish character. He came West with the immigrants, and to them was of much assistance and value. In 1847, through the mistaken frenzy of the savages among whom he dwelt, Dr. Whitman paid with his life for his efforts during the previous decade in their behalf, combined with those of the American people and Government.

START FOR THE PACIFIC

IMMIGRANTS of 1843 were a little slow in starting. That was because there were so many of them, they came from such divergent directions, there was such general lack of knowledge as to route and procedure, and the system that was later in vogue was then not known. There was the Burlington and Iowa group, the Independence and Westport people, and those from the far East and South. In the latter part of May they were assembled in Western Missouri, had planned a government for the control of affairs on the road, and elected their officers. Peter H. Burnett was made Captain, James W. Nesmith Orderly Sergeant, and a a Council of nine men provided for, who were to have general charge of the expedition. McCarver was one of the Council of Nine. Early in June they were fairly on the way, about nine hundred strong. They had hardly got started before trouble arose between what were known as the cattle men and the others. The cattle not only made a great deal of dust and dirt on the road, but they ate the grass so that there was scant browsing for the working teams, sometimes difficulty in getting water, and at all times they required care and guarding. McCarver was one of those who went light, having left his family in Iowa, and being equipped with a single wagon driven by a hired teamster, and having animals to ride besides. In a letter written on the 3d of June to the Burlington Gazette, he said:

LETTERS FROM McCARVER ON THE PLAINS

THERE are over 3000 and perhaps 5000 head of cattle, mules and horses attached to the company. Capt. Applegate has over 200 head and others over 100 head. This has been a bone of contention with some of the immigrants and very nearly dvided the company. Indeed, I am not certain but it will be the means of a split yet, as there are a number without cattle who refuse to assist in guarding them. The dissatisfaction is not quite so violent now, as the cattle owners have agreed to furnish the company with beef (in case of scarcity of buffalo meat), work cattle and milch cows, the former at a price to be fixed by the committee, and the cows and oxen without charge. The company have agreed to this proposition, and the former law, limiting each individual to three head of loose cattle, is thereby repealed. The number of cattle is quite too large. It is impossible to guard them at night, and the Indians have already commenced stealing horses and killing cattle. The company which leaves next spring for Oregon should keep strict guard on their cattle and horses at the crossing of this (Kansas) river, as some eight or ten horses and mules have been stolen in one night from our company. Dr. Whitman, from Walla Walla, who is in our company, advises us to divide into three or four parties, for speed and convenience, as there will be no danger from the Indians.

A week later, June 10th, Gen. McCarver again wrote, the letter being published in the Republican of Aug. 7th, as follows:

The return of a company of mountain traders to the settlements presents an opportunity for writing which I feel much inclined to embrace. We are now between two and three hundred miles west of Independence on the Blue river, a tributary of the Kansas, in good health and spirits. I regret to say that a division has taken place in the company, in consequence of the number of cattle driven by some, those having no cattle refusing to stand guard over stock belonging to others. The result of all this was that Capt. Burnett resigned command of the company, and the Council, in accordance with our regulations, ordered a new election, and so altered the by-laws that the commander should be called Colonel, and also authorized the election of four captains and four orderly lieutenants. The cattle party selected myself as their candidate: those opposed selected Mr. William Martin, an experienced mountaineer. There being a majority in opposition to the cattle party, Mr. Martin was elected, and a division of the company ensued. About fifty wagons, with those who had large droves of cattle, now left, with a general request that all in favor of traveling with them should fall back. I was particularly solicited to leave Martin's party, but as it would travel much the fastest, and Col. Martin is a very clever fellow, I declined. The new company, it is expected, will be commanded by Capt. Applegate. Our roads since leaving the settlements have been very fine, except within the last few days, during which period they have been almost impassable, in consequence of the tremendous rains, but they are again improving. We have had no trouble with the Indians, with the exception of horse and cattle stealing, and this business they have carried on pretty lively. I had a very fine mule and an ox stolen from me on the Kansas river, and we lost in all some eight or ten head of horses and mules. I believe there is not a case of sickness in camp, though old Mr. Smith, from Iowa, has a violent swelling in his eyes. Tell the boys in Iowa to come on with all the cattle and sheep they can get, and a company large enough to drive them.

P. S.—My friend, Mr. Henry Lee, has just been elected captain of one of the divisions. While writing news has been brought in of the discovery of a dead Indian about one mile from this place, freshly scalped, and nearly all the company have gone to see him. He was shot with arrows, and is supposed to be a Pawnee, killed by a party of the Kansas Indians whom we met the other day, consisting of 200, with fresh scalps and fingers which they said had been taken the day before.

INCIDENTS OF THE OVERLAND JOURNEY

ABOUT this time they came upon buffaloes. Capt. Gant, the guide, killed the first one. For some weeks thereafter they had all this kind of meat they wanted, as the big animals were numerous and bold, and frequently several were shot at one time. An occasional antelope was got. These animals were more timid and wary, as well as very swift. The Applegates had a greyhound that was thought to be faster than any wild animal. He got after an antelope one day, and chased it a quarter of a mile, when he gave up the chase in disgust, as the antelope was beating him about two to one. Some prairie chickens were among the game found on the way. There were the usual troubles of such parties in such times, including sickness and a few deaths. One man had an immense wagon, which with its load seemed to be too heavy for his team. Every little while, on coming to a stream to ford or a small hill to climb, he had to have help. This was so often that it got to be tiresome, and the others dubbed his wagon "Noah's Ark." As they neared the mountains his team was so nearly exhausted, and the others were so tired of him, that a committee was appointed to investigate and see if his load could not be lightened. They found that he had in his wagon about a ton of soft soap, which so provoked them that they dumped it by the wayside, after which he got to Oregon without special help. When asked why he was taking this stuff two thousand miles under such difficult circumstances, he said that it would be good to have in Oregon and he "lowed that the women would want it." Fort Laramie, Fort Bridger and Fort Hall were reached in time. This last was a rather discouraging place to the immigrants. They met there men who said they had been to Oregon, and who denounced the country severely. It was not productive as had been stated; on the contrary, it was unproductive compared with the Mississippi valley. The timber of which so much had been said, and upon which so much reliance was placed, was spoken of as quite inferior. These men said it would not hold a nail, and was good only to burn. The Oregon climate did not suit them either. Further, they were told they could not get their wagons through, and they might as well do as others before them had done, abandon their vehicles where they were. It was well they did not need to buy much at these trading posts, as the goods at them were sold at prices from two to ten times the rates asked in Iowa and Missouri. Capt. Gant stopped at Fort Hall, and from there on Dr. Whitman was guide. He assured them that they had been misinformed as to Oregon, and that they could get their wagons through, as seven years before he had taken a cart over the road, and they could do more now than he could do then. McCarver was impatient at the slow progress made, and, getting together a little band of horse men, he and they left their wagons and hired helpers and proceeded on ahead. Before doing this he had made an arrangement with Peter Henderson Burnett to start a town at some point that he would select on the Columbia or Willamette rivers. This advance party had no particular trouble in getting over the remainder of the way. At one time they had a trifling Indian scare, but on boldly riding up to the place of supposed danger they found their alarm was entirely groundless. Many days afterwards the wagons arrived at the Whitman mission, with the big band of cattle, and the hundreds of men, women and children, somewhat to the consternation of the Indians, not a few of whom regarded the Americans in anything but a friendly light. Before the immigrants started on their long journey to the West, an effort was made by J. M. Shively to secure from the War Department a company of dragoons as an escort, for protection against the Indians. It failed, but instead a small exploring party of forty men was sent out under Lieut. John C. Fremont, sometimes termed the "Pathfinder." In this case the name did not properly apply, as Fremont followed the immigrants, taking their road and giving them no assistance whatever. Had help been needed he would have done all he could, no doubt, but fortunately his services were not required. After a short stay at Fort Vancouver and The Dalles, he and his party went to California, through Eastern Oregon and over the Sierra Nevada mountains, being all winter making the trip, suffering greatly on the way and a number of his men losing their lives.

FORT VANCOUVER

McCARVER and his mounted associates hurried on to their destination, arriving in Willamette valley early in October, from a month to two months sooner than those who came all the way with the wagons. They were astonished soon after when they saw the extent, completeness and comfort of the Hudson Bay Company's Vancouver establishment. It stretched along the river four or five miles, and included saw and flour mills, grain fields, orchards, dairy farms, 3000 sheep, 2000 horses and cattle, 300 hogs, a town for the subordinate employees, and the fort proper. This was a space of about five acres, inclosed by a stockade twenty-five feet high, within which were the homes of the principal officers, stores and warehouses, workshops, church and means of defense. The latter were represented by four cannon, balls, muskets, powder and the guards. The house of the chief factor was distinguished from the others in various ways, one feature of this kind being the ornamental shrubs, flowering plants, grape vines, etc., about it. Military discipline prevailed. The gates were opened during the day and closed during the night, and the utmost respect was shown to those in the upper ranks of the service. The employees were English, Scotch, Orkney Islanders, Hawaiians, French Canadians, Iroquois Indians, native Indians, and half and quarter-breed Indians. The company policy was to mix the races, the white men being married to women of Indian or mixed blood. The officers of the company were called gentlemen; the laborers, servants. So, when this advance party of the 1843 immigrants ran their boats ashore in the town, Dr. McLoughlin, the head of this great establishment and of all the other posts of the company on the Pacific slope, sent to them by one of his officers an invitation to visit the fort, the gentlemen to eat dinner with him and the others with the servants. This form of invitation struck the party quite humorously. They laughed over it and joked each other, but all thought it better to accept. It was determined that as McCarver carried the title of General it would be proper for him to head the party of gentlemen. They were hospitably entertained, and friendships were then begun that became warm and were long continued. The company men were eager for news from the States and Europe, and the Americans wanted information and advice as to Oregon. These mutual desires were freely gratified by those on each side. General McCarver told them of his intention to start a new town. McLoughlin and Douglas in turn told him of the town movements already begun, and particularly of Willamette Falls, about that time changed to Oregon City. They suggested a site nearer the mouth of the Willamette, about ten miles from Vancouver, below Swan Island bar, a place accessible to ships at all times, and that really was the head of deep water navigation. He went there at once, and finding the situation much as represented, located a townsite and proceeded to prepare for the residence on it of the Burnett family, himself and others that they might induce there to locate.

In the meantime the family men came on with the teams, wagons and goods. It was found necessary to leave most of the property at or near The Dalles. Burnett was so taken with the situation and condition there that he was tempted to make his settlement at that point, relinquishing the idea of the town nearer the sea. Strangely enough, McCarver was also so struck with The Dalles that nineteen years later he entered at that point upon a limited town speculation. Before concluding definitely, however, Burnett went down to Fort Vancouver, where he changed his mind uopn the advice of Chief Factors McLoughlin and Douglas. To give a further idea of Vancouver at that time, the extract following is from a letter then written by Burnett:

> On the 10th of November I landed at Vancouver, and could scarcely believe my eyes when, on approaching it, I beheld, moored securely in the river, two square-rigged vessels and a steamboat. My very heart jumped as I set eyes on these familiar objects, and for the first time in four months I felt as if I had found substantial evidence of civilization; the impression of the refinement of this mission, and the peculiarly domestic comforts which the ladies attached to the establishment spread around them, were as nothing compared with the yards and masts of those coursers of the ocean. The river at Fort Vancouver is from 1600 to 1700 yards wide; the fort is on the north bank 80 miles distant, in a direct line from the sea. It stands a considerable distance back from the shore, and is surrounded by a large number of buildings, amongst which is a school house. On the bank of the river, 600 yards down, is a village somewhat larger in extent, containing a hospital. Two miles farther down the river are the dairy and piggery, containing numerous herds of cattle, hogs, sheep, etc.; and about three miles above the fort are grist and saw mills, and sheds for curing salmon. Immediately behind it is a garden and an orchard filled with peach, apple, fig, orange, lemon and other fruit trees, and containing also grapes, strawberries, ornamental plants and flowers. Behind this the cultivated farm, with its numerous barns and other necessary buildings, spread off towards the south. The land appropriated here for the purpose of farmng is from 3000 to 4000 acres, and is fenced into beautiful fields, a great portion of which is already under cultivation, and is found to produce the grains and vegetables of the States in remarkable profusion. On my arrival I was received with great kindness by Dr. McLoughlin, the chief factor of the H. B. Co., and Mr. James Douglas, his second in command. The modus operandi of this wonderful corporation is remarkable for the perfect accuracy of its system. A code of established rules, embracing within its scope the chief factor and the meanest dependent, is the inflexible rule which governs all. Every man has his allotted place to fill, and a system of far-sighted policy is

brought to bear upon the management of every department. A regular price is set upon everything. Their goods are all of superior kind, and it is no less a rule to sell them at reasonable rates than it is to have them good.

McLoughlin and Douglas were not only good and helpful in advising, but they gave more substantial aid. In the case of Burnett they furnished transportation to the Dalles, and back again, for himself and family. Burnett and McCarver were very grateful to these Britons, and so expressed themselves on every suitable occasion thereafter. McLoughlin became a naturalized American in later years, and lived and died at Oregon City. Douglas stayed by the Company and his native country, became Governor of British Columbia, and, after a long and honorable career, died at Victoria.

THE TOWN OF LINNTON

THE two partners tried to make their town go, and for a time it gave good promise. A wharf and warehouse were built and a road opened to the Tualatin Plains, then the best agricultural section known. The money of the firm was rapidly expended in these ways, and all would have been well had not Capt. John H. Couch demonstrated that the head of navigation was further up the river, he sailing past and over the bar with his brig, the Chenamus, and up to the site of the present city of Portland, where Pettygrove and Lovejoy were also making efforts to plant a town. As indicated by the following extract from a letter written by Burnett in 1844, and published in the Ohio Statesman, the partners were quite hopeful in the first days of their joint effort:

> I am here in our new town, which we have named Linnton in respect for Dr. Linn's services for this territory. Gen. McCarver and myself have laid out the town together. He is a gentleman from Iowa Territory, and laid out Burlington, the seat of government. He is an enterprising man. Our place is ten miles from Vancouver, on the west bank of the Willamette river, at the head of navigation, three or four miles above the mouth of the Willamette and twenty-five miles below Willamette Falls. I have no doubt but that this place will be the great commercial town in the territory. We are selling lots at $50 each, and sell them fast at that. At the falls there is

quite a town already. I own two lots in Oregon City (the town at the falls.) They are said to be worth $200 each. I got them of Dr. McLoughlin for two lots here in Linnton. I was six weeks at Vancouver, where myself and family were most hospitably entertained by Dr. McLoughlin free of charge. He has been a great friend to me, and has done much for the immigration generally.

The sale of lots soon stopped, and Linnton as a town venture, for the time being, came to an end. The locality still goes by that name, however, and at and upon it, after a rest of more than half a century, some business has settled. It is remembered to this day as the place where the first real effort was made to found a commercial and maritime city in Oregon. Referring to his failure there, Gen. McCarver, years afterwards, remarked that the reason he and Burnett could not build a city at Linnton was their absolute inability to get the necessary nails. Both truth and humor were in this statement, as the unexpectedly large number of immigrants arriving in 1843 had already exhausted the supply of nails, and it was only by begging, borrowing or paying the most exorbitant prices that enough of them could be got for the simplest purposes of the people. It may be that even yet the high anticipations of its original projectors will be more than realized, as the continued growth of Portland will eventually cause Linnton to become part of a city of great importance and magnitude. One thing is certain: if Burnett and McCarver could not make a town at Linnton in 1843-44, no other two men in Oregon could, for none exceeded them in enterprise, influence, ability and push. Both men were fluent talkers, and both made systematic, intelligent use of pen, ink and paper in advertising abroad the attractions and advantages of Oregon. Burnett's letters are famous in Oregon history. McCarver had hardly reached the Willamette valley before he began to send back cheering reports. One of these told the people in the Eastern States that from the knowledge he had acquired it was entirely practicable to build a railroad to Oregon; the old reports of impassable mountains being grossly exaggerated. This letter is said to have been the first published assertion of the kind from one who had crossed the continent and had personal acquaintance with the subject in all its phases.

A NEWSY LETTER FROM OREGON

GEN. McCARVER soon saw that entire reliance upon the townsite enterprise was dangerous, and he resolved to lessen the hazard by taking a claim, which he did, during November, on Tualatin Plains. Six months later Burnett did the same. Before McCarver had been in the Willamette valley a month he had written three long letters to old Iowa friends about the country where he then was, one of which, to Gen. A. C. Dodge, Iowa's Delegate in Congress, is here reproduced in full:

Tualatin Plains, Oregon Territory, Nov. 6, 1843.

Dear Sir: I avail myself of an opportunity offered by one of the vessels belonging to the Hudson Bay Company to forward to you a few lines.

The immigrants have not all arrived, though more than half are here, and the remainder may be looked for in a few days. Some are yet at the Methodist mission, about one hundred and fifty miles distant, near the Dalles. Several families arrived last week at Fort Vancouver and Willamette Falls, some by water and others over the Cascade mountains. The wagons will be brought from the Dalles by water, as the season is now too far advanced to open a road through the mountains. This expedition establishes the practicability beyond doubt of a wagon road across the continent by way of the southern pass in the Rocky mountains. We have had no difficulty with the natives, although we have had a tedious journey. We have had fewer obstacles in reaching here than we had a right to expect, as it was generally understood before leaving the States that one-third of the distance, to-wit: from Fort Hall to this place, was impassable with wagons. Great credit, however, is due to the energy, perseverance and industry of the Emigrating Company, and particularly to Dr. Whitman, one of the missionaries at the Walla Walla mission, who accompanied us out. His knowledge of the route was considerable, and his exertions for the interest of the company were untiring. Our journey may now be said to be at an end, as we are in the Willamette valley. I have been here nearly three weeks, having left my wagon in charge of the teamster and proceeded on horseback from Fort Hall, in company with some thirty persons, principally young men. Your first questions now will be, "How are you satisfied with the country? Is it worthy of the notice that Congress has given it?" I would answer these in the affirmative. Perhaps there is no country in the world of its size that offers more inducements to enterprise and industry than Oregon. The soil in this valley and in many other portions of the territory is equal to that of Iowa, or any other portion of the United States, in point of beauty and fertility, and its productons are far superior, particularly wheat, potatoes, beets and turnips. The grain of the wheat is more than one-third larger than any I have seen in the States. I measured a beet which grew in Dr. Whitman's garden that was in circumference two inches short of three feet, and there is now growing in the field of Mr. James Johns, less than a mile from the place where I am writing, a turnip measuring four and one-half feet around, and he thinks it will exceed five feet before pulling time. Indeed, everything here is in a flourishing condition—trade brisk and everybody doing well. The immigrants are all, as far as I know, satisfied. Wages for a common hand is from $1 to $1.50 per day, and mechanics from $2 to $4. Wheat is quite abundant, and sold to ship or immigrants at $1 per bushel. Flour is from $9 to $10 per barrel; potatoes and turnips, 50 cents per bushel; beef from 6 to 8 cents per pound; American cows from $60 to $70; California cows, $15 to $20. The prairie is coated with a rich green grass, perhaps the most nutritious in the world; and I am told that the winter is never so severe or the grass so scarce that a poor horse will not fatten in the space of one month. Nothing is wanted but industry to make this one of the richest little countries in the world. I say little, because the fertile part of it is small compared with the very extensive fertile countries in the valley of the Mississippi; yet we have a country sufficient in extent and resources to maintain in lucrative occupations millions of inhabitants. Its great hydraulic power immediately on the seashore, the advantages for stock raising or wool growing, its fertile soil, and indeed its very isolated situation from competition with the rest of the civilized world, all combine with other circumstances to make it one of the most desirable countries under the sun for industry and enterprise.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. M. McCARVER.

PREPARES FOR THE COMING OF HIS FAMILY

AMONG others to whom the General wrote at this time were his wife and his connections by marriage in Iowa. He expected her to come the following year, and he gave the utmost information and fullest possible instructions as to arrangements and procedure necessary. He supposed his letters would get to their destination in time for his family to start with the immigrants of 1844, six months or more after the writing of the letters. In this he underestimated, as the ship from Vancouver went with lumber and other produce to Hawaii, and thence to London, from which city the letters were returned by regular mail to our own Atlantic coast and then forwarded by rail and steamboat to Burlington. The whole trip took ten months. Mrs. McCarver at once began to prepare for the going of herself and children in 1845. Her brother, Berryman Jennings, and his brother-in-law, Simpson S. White, were taken with the Oregon fever, and they arranged to all come together, the McCarver wagon being driven by a young man named D. B. Hanna, who in 1905 died at Tacoma, after being for sixty years a resident of Oregon, California and Washington. In the meantime General McCarver was busily engaged in his many public and private enterprises. He built a dwelling house, a barn and much fencing on his Tualatin claim, and sowed many acres in wheat; also planted quite a garden with vegetable seeds. While Burnett attended chiefly to the Linnton town lot sales, McCarver opened the road. Though the road was a rough one, it was deemed essential to the town, as the Tualatin settlement was a strong one, with much trade, the town getting which would be greatly helped. Pettygrove saw the necessity for this trade also, and he, too, opened a road at his own expense to Portland, diverting thither the trade hoped for at Linnton. McCarver got into politics, too, being elected to the Legislature in the spring of 1844. When the time came for the immigrants to arrive, Gen. McCarver went up to meet them, hoping that his family were numbered among those he expected to greet. In this he was disappointed. John Minto, in his published Reminiscences, speaks as follows of his meeting McCarver at that time:

> Oct. 11th, 1844, we reached the Columbia at the mouth of the Umatilla, and there met Gen. M. M. McCarver. He had come expecting to meet his family, but, learning they were not on the way, he returned with us to Western Oregon, turning over to us provisions he had brought for his family, under our agreement to pay him in labor in taking care of his harvest, which he had left exposed to the chances of the weather.

This was a pleasant arrangement for us, the pleasure being increased by Mr. McCarver's company, for besides being an intelligent gentleman he was at this time Speaker of the Legislature of the Provisional Government of Oregon, so that through his conversation we learned much of men and measures of the Oregon government.

THE IMMIGRANTS OF 1844

THE immigrants, among whom were such well-known Oregon and Washington pioneers as Michael T. Simmons, Samuel B. Crockett, George W. Bush, James McAllister, Jesse Ferguson, Willard H. Rees, R. W. Morrison, E. E. Parrish, Jacob Hoover, Absalom Hedges, the Gilliams, Shaws, Thorp, Ford and others, went down the river or over the mountains separately, three of the men accompanying McCarver and James Holman in a canoe. Minto and five others went to the farm on Tualatin Plains, and entered upon the service they had agreed to as before related. Their first job was to build a house in which to stack the wheat. While getting out the timber, Minto was cut in the foot, and had to seek other employment. He was made camp cook, in which occupation at that time no great skill was required, as the food supplies were limited to flour, vegetables, salt, salmon and bacon. McCarver introduced Minto and his immediate companions to Dr. McLoughlin, and secured credit for them at Fort Vancouver. As all fair-minded men did, Minto spoke subsequently in the most pleasant and commendatory terms of the Doctor, mentioning little and big, personal and general favors rendered by him for himself and for the Company to the struggling, suffering American immigrants, the suspicions and little concealed hostility of many of whom were thereby changed to feelings of friendship and gratitude.

BEGINNINGS OF GOVERNMENT IN OREGON

IN Oregon, in 1840, were about two hundred people not connected with the Hudson Bay Company, two-thirds of whom were from the United States, the one-third remaining being French Canadians. In 1841 nearly a hundred persons were added to the population, a minority of the number being from Red River, Canada. In 1842 about one hundred and fifty new people came, most of them being in the company that crossed the continent with Dr. Elijah White. In 1843 the newcomers numbered about nine hundred, in 1844 nine hundred more, while in 1845 there were three thousand. While the majority of these people were what were known as "American settlers," that is, people who came to take land and make their homes, there were other elements that had to be considered, and which were influential. In the earlier days the religious missions were quite powerful, having many persons connected with them, being supported from the East, and having establishments of large and imposing character. This was particularly the case with the Methodist mission in Willamette valley. Then there were men who came by sea, and other men who had long been trapping and hunting. A considerable number had Indian wives, and children of mixed blood were rapidly increasing. The Hudson Bay Company people, employees and ex-employees, were more numerous than all the others combined up to 1843. The church elements began to war upon each other. Liquor made its appearance in a disturbing manner. Finally came death, the man dying being possessed of property which should be cared for in accordance with modern ideas and usages. Meetings were held in February, 1841, the result of which was the election of a Judge, a Recorder, a Sheriff, Justices of the Peace and Constables, and the adoption of the laws of the State of New York for the government of the people of Oregon. The estate of the decedent was properly settled, and with that local government functions ended for the time being. A committee visited Dr. John McLoughlin and Capt. Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., who united in advising no further action of this character. This advice, coupled with the general difficulties of the situation, was influential in causing a cessation of efforts along this line until February, 1843. What has since been popularly called "The Wolf Meeting" was then held, the immediate object being to devise means for the extermination of wild animals that were preying upon the live stock of the settlers. At an adjourned meeting in March, this matter was not only provided for, but the further step was taken of inaugurating a movement for "the civil and military protection of the colony." May 2d a third meeting was held, at which by a close vote (52 against 50) the people determined to organize a government, with legislative committee of nine persons. Other meetings were held, an organic law adopted, an executive committee of three provided, and on the 5th of July the organization was completed and proclaimed. This was the condition of affairs when the great immigration of 1843 entered the field, the members of which were not only many in number but included clever men, who proceeded at once to interest themselves in the public affairs of the country.

THE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF 1644-5

ON the second Tuesday of May, 1844, occurred the first election under the new government. The Legislative Committee then chosen consisted of Peter H. Burnett, Amos L. Lovejoy, Daniel Waldo, Robert Newell, Thomas D. Kaiser, David Hill, Matthew Gilmore and Morton M. McCarver. June 18th they met at Oregon City, when McCarver was elected Speaker and J. E. Long, Clerk. The Executive Committee then was composed of W. J. Bailey, Osborne Russell and P. G. Stewart. This committee served in place of a Governor. After a couple of years it was displaced by change to a Governor, when George Abernethy was executive until succeeded by Gov. Lane in 1849. One of the first things done by the Legislative Committee was to enact (June 24th) a strong anti-liquor law, the bill being presented by Mr. Burnett. The preamble recited as follows:

PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC

WHEREAS, the people of Oregon, now occupying one of the most beautiful and interesting portions of the globe, are placed in the most critical and responsible position ever filled by men, owing, as they do, important duties to themselves, to their country, to posterity, and to mankind, as the founders of a new government and a young nation; and whereas, the introduction, distillation, or sale of ardent spirits, under the circumstances in which we are placed, would bring withering ruin upon the prosperity and prospects of this interesting and rising community by involving us in idle and dissolute habits, inviting hither swarms of the dissipated inhabitants of other countries, checking immigration, destroying the industry of the country, bringing upon us the swarms of savages now in our midst, interrupting the orderly and peaceable administration of justice, and in a word producing and perpetuating increasing and untold miseries that no mind can rightly estimate.

This strong indictment of the liquor traffic was followed by stronger prohibition. All importation for sale was forbidden under penalty of fifty dollars for each and every offense, while all sale was forbidden under penalty of twenty dollars. Manufacturing or distilling liquor was forbidden under penalty of destruction of the apparatus and the infliction of a fine of one hundred dollars. This was the first prohibition law in the United States, preceding that of Maine by seven years. Those voting for this pioneer prohibition law were Messrs. Burnett, Gilmore, Kaiser, Waldo, Newell and McCarver. In December, 1845, the matter was up again, the whiskey men making a determined fight, and a new Legislature having been elected, during the previous May, of increased number. A bill introduced by W. H. Gray, practically a repetition of that of the year before, was enacted, the passage vote being seven to four and the final vote on reconsideration being six to six, the six who saved the bill being Foisy, Gray, Garrison, Lee, McCarver and McClure. Gen. McCarver was Speaker the second session also.

POLITICAL SENTIMENT OF THE PEOPLE

THE national sentiment of the Oregon legislative body was indicated by it on every reasonable occasion. In 1844 it declared the boundaries of Oregon to be the Pacific Ocean on the west, the Rocky mountains on the east, the 42d parallel on the south and 54:40 on the north. This included all between the Mexican and Russian lines and excluded Great Britain altogether. The organic law of 1845 was declared to be effectual only "until such times as the United States of America extend their jurisdiction over us." Fearing that even this attempt at unauthorized government would be construed at Washington as too much, the Legislature a month later adopted a resolution to the effect that the organic law "was an act of necessity rather than of choice, and was intended to give to the people the protection which of right should be extended to them by their government, and not as an act in defiance or disregard of the authority or laws of the United States," this being sent to Washington City by Dr. Elijah White as a special message. In June, 1845, the Executive Committee, the Judge and the Legislative Committee united in a memorial to Congress, in which Oregon was referred to as a part of the Federal Union that was suffering from the neglect of the National Government; that the country by international arrangement had been made neutral ground open to the British upon terms of equality with our own people, "the population being composed of the subjects of a crown and the citizens of a republic, between whom no common bond of union exists;" that the British criminal code had been extended over the country, and a sufficient measure of protection given to the subjects through the medium of the Hudson Bay Company; while the Americans had no law except that of their individual making, and no protection other than that they gave to themselves. The petitioners therefore urged the establishment by Congress of a Territorial government; military protection against the Indians; passage of the donation land law; mail service between Missouri and Oregon; a naval force, and such other things as were needed, that the Americans might be placed "at least on a par with other occupants of the country." The loyalty of the citizens and their determination to hold the country for their government and kindred was made apparent in many ways and on many occasions. One of the men of the period under review (Minto), in speaking of this subject, says:

> The feeling of nationality on either side was in the main not very demonstrative, but the anxiety was very deep and general among the Americans, both native and foreign born, before we got the news of the treaty and its results. To very many of us it involved the question of retracing our journey back across the mountains and sage plains, and I have no doubt many who have made that journey without much

thought of its magnitude and its dangers, were very desirous not to be forced to taste again the hard endurances and sharp privations inseparable from a repetition of it. The news of the treaty came at last, however, and deep and heartfelt was the joy that came with it, for it brought the conviction to many that though we were far removed, we were not forgotten by our fellow citizens of the Atlantic seaboard.

OPPOSED TO SLAVERY AND NEGROES

ANOTHER matter that troubled the early-day Oregonians was the possible coming among them of the black men. The immigrants as a rule were from Kentucky, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa, a minority being from other States in all parts of the country. They had witnessed and participated in the contention over slavery from the beginning, and they were sore over it, and one object many of them had in coming to the Pacific was to get as far away from it as their own national limits would permit. All of Oregon was north of the line of the Missouri compromise, but it was uncertain whether that line would apply indefinitely to the West. It would depend upon circumstances they might not be able to control. It would be better to make sure in the beginning. Once the blacks were in the country as property, by tacit permission, it might be impossible to keep out the odious system. There was also danger connected with the coming of free negroes. They, too, at that time, were a disturbing element throughout the country. It was not desirable that Oregon should be made a refuge for them. Eastern slave owners talked freely of going to Oregon and taking their negroes with them. In a few cases, in fact, this was done, the Zacharys, Mulkeys, Mrs. Barlow and others being accompanied in this way by people of color. The Legislature resolved that if they could make it so Oregon should be a free State. They enacted, on the 26th of June, 1844, an eternal prohibition of slavery; also that slaves brought before or after the enactment should be removed by their owners within three years or they should be free. Free negroes or mulattoes were, by the same law, directed to remove from the Territory within two years for males and three years for females, and those hereafter arriving were required to leave in like periods of time. Punishment by application of the lash was prescribed in the case of violation of the law by free negroes. This bill was introduced by Mr. Burnett, as was also another bill, the following December, in which the original law was amended by striking out the clauses relating to whipping. In lieu of the stripes, provision was made for hiring out the colored person to the individual who for the shortest term of service would remove the negro or mulatto from the country. In these later days the latter feature of the law seems like a hard one, but at that time the appearance was different. The law was intended as notice to the world that slavery would not be tolerated in Oregon, and further that negroes were not wanted within the limits of the Provisional Government's jurisdiction. The reasons for this were as before stated. The law was the only warning the people could give to the objectionable class—the colored race—to refrain from coming to the country to stay. Its prospective clause—two years in the case of men, and three years in the case of women—is sufficient alone, almost, to show that enforcement of the punishment by stripes was not contemplated by the members, as was also the amendment altogether doing away with it six months later. As a matter of fact, no one was ever punished in Oregon under either provision. That the law had effect, however, in preventing slavery, and discouraging the coming of colored people, is well known. In 1844 George W. Bush, a mulatto with a white wife, was among the immigrants seeking a home in Oregon. He was of irreproachable character, one of the best men who ever came to the Pacific Coast, and whose record before his coming and since was one of which his posterity and the State may well be proud. He was comparatively well off, having, it is said, $3000 in money, with which he generously helped a party of white men at the time who subsequently became citizens of Washington Territory. When he learned in the fall of 1844 of the passage of this law, he determined that he would not knowingly or offensively violate its provisions, and that he would stay north of the Columbia river, in that part of Oregon claimed by the British. His grateful friends at once said they would stay by him, and they did, spending the winter near

Vancouver, and the next summer going still further north, to Puget Sound, where they made the first American settlements, and where their presence assisted in strengthening the grasp of the United States upon what then began to be called Northern Oregon. Bush settled upon a prairie three miles from the head of the Sound, which has since borne his name, and where members of his family yet reside. Michael T. Simmons, who became very influential in Oregon, secured passage of a bill by the Legislature relieving Bush from the operations of the law of 1844, and in 1854 the first Washington Legislature memorialized Congress in favor of a special law confirming to Bush the 640-acre claim he had taken; a law Congress speedily enacted. In 1852 Isaac N. Ebey secured the removal of the political disabilities of George Washington, a wealthy and respected colored man living until recently in Chehalis County. This law of negro exclusion is said to be yet on the Oregon statute books, though as dead as an Egyptian mummy and not so useful.

Another important law enacted gave to each man and to each widow a claim of 640 acres, for the taking. Immigration in the first years was quickened by this law perceptibly. There were other laws, for taxes, for crimes, and of private character. The legislative sessions usually lasted from ten to twenty days, and were held semi-annually.

McCARVER GETS A NEW CLAIM

UPON Gen. McCarver's return from one of these sessions he found another man on his land claim. Explanations, arguments and threats were of no avail. The man said he had as much right to the place as anyone else, and he was going to hold it, fighting for it in any way necessary to his purpose. McCarver was not a man to be imposed upon lightly, and was no less belligerent than the trespasser. About the time the trouble was hottest and most alarming, the General heard of another place that he could get advantageously that to him was preferable to his own. He therefore left the place to the other man, and bought the claim of

Chris. Taylor, two miles from Oregon City. He proceeded at once to cultivate his new land, and to get things in good condition for the coming of his family, who were among the immigrants then on the road. He continued his interest in the public affairs of the community, going about, talking, trading, writing, etc. In one of his letters, published in an Eastern newspaper, he dwelt at considerable length upon the weather, praising it, describing its winter mildness, and speaking of the rains as usually no more than mist. Later, people jocosely referred to the Oregon rains as "McCarver's Mists," and in days since have continued the word by partial change to "Oregon Mist." One of the things that Gen. McCarver brought to the country was a root of horse radish. Though

Mrs. Mary A. Hurley, a Daughter of Gen. McCarver, Standing Beside a McCarver Favorite Apple Tree on the McCarver Farm in 1906.

the life seemed to be dried out of it, it sprouted and grew when put in the ground, and from that root subsequently came the horse radish plants now so common throughout Oregon and Washington. He also brought apple seeds, from which he developed an apple tree that has since gone by his name. Later he produced two other new varieties of apples, the three being known and sold to this day as McCarver's Seedling, McCarver's Favorite, and McCarver's Premium. A tree is yet standing within the limits of the city of Portland of one of these varieties, that was planted more than fifty years ago, and is still bountifully yielding each fall the choicest fruit to its present owner.

THE IMMIGRANTS OF 1845-6-7

AS before said, the immigrants of 1845 were very numerous, exceeding those of all previous years combined. They included a large number of people who afterwards became prominent, as Joel Palmer, H. M. Knighton, W. G. T'Vault, Elisha Packwood, Samuel Hancock, W. Carey Johnson, Wm. H. Rector, Thomas M. Chambers, and Andrew and David Chambers, his sons. Gen. McCarver went up the Columbia river to meet them. When he came in 1843 he crossed the Cascade mountains into Willamette valley, accompanied by fifteen others, but the trip was so hard that he could not think of allowing his family to repeat his experience. East of the Cascades he met Mrs. McCarver and the children, with Dolph B. Hannah, and her relatives, Berryman Jennings and Simpson S. White and their families. They continued their trip with him to Oregon City.

The next two or three years were rather hard ones in Oregon. In 1846 was another large immigration, when J. Quinn Thorton, Geo. L. Curry, Aaron E. Wait, R. R. Thompson, Benjamin Simpson, Joseph S. Smith, and others came, whose efforts later did so much to make Oregon the great State it has since become, and in 1847 a still larger company arrived. Joel Palmer, who went East in 1846 with a party of sixteen men, says they met on the way to the Pacific 541 wagons bound for Oregon and 212 for California, averaging five persons to the wagon. After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, more people went there than came to Oregon.

DISSATISFIED NEWCOMERS

WHILE those who first went to Oregon were anxious to be followed by as many as possible of their countrymen, the coming of the latter was not always pleasant or profitable. The men of 1842-43-44 took the finest and most eligible lands, leaving second choice to the ten thousand and more of 1845-46-47, and third choice to those who came afterwards. While they were not to be blamed for this, the newcomers appeared to be disappointed, and grumbled not a little. In this frame of mind, in addition to exhaustion of body, they found fault with the country, the climate, the conditions and the "old settlers." Within a year they became "old settlers" themselves, and they realized then that their former views and opinions were incorrect. While tramping over the country, however, they were not always the most welcome guests, as they generally had nothing to offer in payment for meals and lodgings, and if they had it would not have been taken by the hospitable farmers. It is said that some of these farmers, living on the most traveled highways, were all but eaten up by land seekers, and that in self-protection they were finally compelled to put up signs of "Meals, 50 Cents," "Meals and Lodgings," "Hotel," etc. When, in addition to furnishing free fare, they were called upon to assist in locating strangers upon desirable tracts of land, and further were treated to abuse of the country, and abuse of themselves and of the other older people, it was hard to bear and often called forth retorts of hot character. Time smoothed and calmed the discontented ones, and after a year or two all were living and working together in good-natured, congenial, friendly manner.

OREGON LIFE IN THE MIDDLE 40'S

IT IS impossible to realize now the artifices, shifts and efforts then necessary to live. Men had to do almost everything for themselves, as they had but little to buy with, and there was but little to be bought. They had to build their own houses, make their own oxyokes, axhandles, shoes, clothes, cultivate their own lands and do their own hunting. When married, their wives assisted in these undertakings, cooking, helping to clear the land, economizing and struggling in all possible ways. It was not uncommon to wear buckskin trousers and coats, and garments made of the old canvas coverings of immigrant wagons. Moccasins were seen everywhere. Shoes were worn without stockings, and some of the most prominent men of the Territory—men of mature years and with families—went barefooted, often in public. The more recent immigrants were invariably better clad, but they were obliged to trade their spare clothes for potatoes to eat and wheat to plant. In their season wild berries helped the people considerably, and the same may be said of fish, birds, deer and bear. The greatest reliance was the Hudson Bay Company, which fed and clothed the people to their advantage, even while they were filled with suspicion of it and regarded it as opposed to their interests, if not absolutely hostile to them. American trading vessels came occasionally, and there were stores here and there, but the stocks were not as great as those at Fort Vancouver, the articles frequently not so good, and the prices generally higher. The Company was also prepared to buy almost anything the people had to sell, as it dealt in skins, grain, butter, feathers, shingles, lumber, etc. To make it more convenient to the people, it went so far as to establish a general merchandise store in Oregon City, Mr. Ermatinger having it in charge. Even the town, established and named by Dr. McLoughlin, was one of the greatest of benefits and conveniences to the Americans, one of the darkest spots in Oregon history being the efforts of certain citizens to deprive him of his ownership and right to it. One of the men who was most eager for the good things of life, not so much for himself as for his family, was Gen. McCarver, and he was shrewd and clever enough to get for them their full proportion of all that was worth having. In a letter to the Oregon Spectator, in July, 1846, he incidentally gave an idea of life then in the Territory when he said: "The best families in the country are eating their meals and drinking their tea and coffee—when our merchants can offer it to them—from tin plates and cups. Many articles of clothing and other things actually necessary for our consumption are not to be purchased in the country; our children are growing up in ignorance for want of school books to educate them, and there has not been a plow mould in the stores for many months." He wanted the world to know the real condition of affairs, that men of enterprise and money might come and avail of opportunities for trade to the betterment of all. Honolulu was then the chief market for Oregon produce, with a freight rate of $24 per ton and passage rate of $100. McCarver further wrote that there was an overproduction of lumber and a surplus of flour, with climate and resources unsurpassed, and a country rapidly filling up with people. The tin cups and saucers he referred to sold at the time at $2.50 for six, or ten times the Eastern States price. Though there were ten thousand more people in Oregon, there were no more merchants than in 1843. The merchants seemed to the farmers independent, arbitrary, harsh and exacting. Meetings were held by the agriculturists on Tualatin Plains, participated in by Meek, Lenox, McCarver and others, in the hope of securing relief by inducing competition, that would help the sale of their produce in Hawaii and other distant markets. While things were so uncomfortable about them, the people made complaint only with a view of remedying the evils afflicting and surrounding them, and said no more than they believed necessary for the purpose. In national matters they maintained a bold front. The presence of the British warship Modeste on the 4th of July, 1846, was made the occasion for a vigorous display of patriotic sentiment. Andrew Hood was chairman of the preliminary meetings, and W. G. T'Vault secretary. The committee of arrangements consisted of A. L. Lovejoy, H. Burns, J. R. Robb, S. Parker and M. M. McCarver. The celebration was a notable and fine affair. Wm. Holmes presented a liberty pole, which was erected, and a salute of thirty-one guns fired. J. L. Parrish acted as chaplain; A. L. Lovejoy read the Declaration of Independence, and Peter H. Burnett was orator. H. M. Knighton served a public dinner at the City Hotel, kept by him. Lovejoy sat at one end of the long table and

McCarver at the other. There were thirteen regular toasts and ten volunteers. One of the toasts, as follows, clearly expressed the feelings of the people: "Oregon, belonging to the United States, and rightly claiming her protection, stands ever ready to repel insults offered her in attempting to seduce her from that path by hired emissaries, come from what source they may." This was the first considerable celebration of the national holiday in Oregon, there being but one other of any kind before it, and that a small affair at Salem. Though the Oregonians expressed themselves freely as to any unfortunate features in their own plight, they did not care to have remarks made elsewhere as to their circumstances and situation. It was reported in 1846 that some Californians had gone out to meet the west-bound immigrants, for the purpose of inducing as many as possible to go to their section, telling them that Oregon was in nowise comparable with California, and that it was the intention of Americans already there to take charge of the country and government, they then only waiting the coming of a few more brave men to undertake this easy but important national step. The Willamette people did not like the way in which their region was described, and at a public meeting in Oregon City they resented the attack warmly and vigorously.

SETTLEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY

ON THE 15th of June, 1846, the ownership of Oregon was settled between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, latitude 49 then being fixed as the international line. After several months the news arrived in Oregon. While all were relieved that the tension was over, neither side was satisfied. James Douglas and Peter Skeen Ogden and their followers, who naturally favored the British contention, were sore because the Columbia river was not made the dividing line, while Americans felt that five and two-thirds degrees of Pacific Coast latitude had been given up by their government for nothing. The only thing to do, though, was to accept the settlement as made; the British, as represented by the Hudson Bay Company, slowly but gradually moving their employees and business interests to the region north of the line awarded to them and their government. Sept. 26th, a public meeting was held at Oregon City, to consider the changed conditions. McCarver favored the holding of a convention not long after for the purpose of electing a Delegate to Congress. Others had different ideas, and nothing but words resulted from the meetings, the matter being left to the Legislature for decision and action. The public meeting in those days was the place for the expression, if not the creation, of popular sentiment, and Oregon City, being the chief town and political center, was where the meetings usually were held.

LOSS OF WIFE; REMARRIES

NOV. 19th, 1846, Mrs. McCarver died at the home on the farm, after a prolonged illness, leaving a son of 13 years and a daughter of 4. She was 37 years old, and for sixteen years had been a devoted, beloved wife, a helpmeet to the utmost of her ability. It was a hard blow to the husband and father. He did the best he could under the trying circumstances. The little girl was placed with the Whites, her uncle and aunt; the boy stayed with his father and the hired people on the farm. General McCarver the following year became acquainted with Mrs. Julia A. Buckalew, a widow with a child of her own. On the 20th of January, 1848, they were married, and they lived together, affectionately, until his death, twenty-seven years later, having in the meantime five children born to them.

OREGON LAND TROUBLES

FOR several years there had been trouble over land claims. Though the Provisional Legislature endeavored to regulate the matter, it was known that without approval by Congress the 640-acre claims would not stand, and Congress did not pass upon the question until 1850, when it substantially approved and ratified the acts of the provisional authorities. In the meantime, the later immigrants wanted some of the better lands already taken by those who had come before them. Some of the earlier people, too, who had not taken claims, or who had, perhaps, more land than they needed, or who wanted the settlements more densely populated, were also in favor of a redivision and the reduction in area of claims at least one-half. There was so frequent and so much agitation of the question that those who favored holding on to all they had felt obliged to organize for self-protection. July 15th, 1848, they met at Oregon City, with Col. W. W. Chapman as chairman and M. Danforth as secretary. Resolutions were adopted relative to the regulation of land claims and the adjustment of disputes. Theophilus Magruder, Geo. L. Curry, P. H. Hatch, Noyes Smith and M. M. McCarver were appointed a committee to draft a constitution and bylaws. The following week (22d) another meeting was held, at which the organization was perfected, and A. L. Lovejoy made president. Committees of arbitration were provided for different localities; that for Clackamas County consisting of Peter H. Hatch, James D. Holman, M. M. McCarver, Harrison Wright, Absalom Cornelius, Wm. Meek, Peter Sholl, Philip Foster, Alphonse Boone, A. R. T. Locey, J. McCormick and James Officer. There was immediate opposition, of course, by those interested the other way, and there is no telling what would have come of it all had not just at the time been brought to light the discovery of gold in California. All minds were at once diverted to another field, and for the time being the Oregon land question was dropped, if not forgotten.

CONDITIONS IN CALIFORNIA

DURING these years (1846-47-48) there was war between the United States and Mexico, ending in the defeat of the latter and the acquisition by the former of much new territory, including California. This had marked effect upon Oregon. For many years there had been trade between the two parts, the Hudson Bay Company having a branch in California, and cattle being driven from there into Oregon. California had some advantages over Oregon. All the coast trade was by water and from the south, and there were more accessible harbors than the Columbia river. In consequence, it was a place of more convenient and common call for trading vessels, whale ships and war craft. Americans began to go there in considerable numbers in the early 40's, and by the time war came they were able to take care of themselves. Our government also had ships on the coast, and soon soldiers. More immigrants went, and even before the discovery of gold California became of national interest and was in the first stage of commercial development. L. W. Hastings, who had come to Oregon in 1842, had gone to California a year or two later, and Chas. E. Pickett and many others had followed him. Lieut. Fremont had been there twice with government parties; in 1844, after visiting Oregon, and again in 1846. Thomas O. Larkin had been living at Monterey since 1832, and John A. Sutter at Sacramento since 1839, he going there by way of Oregon and Hawaii. In 1845 five hundred Americans settled in California, in 1846 upwards of a thousand, and in 1847 still more. The change of government had noticeable effect. Mexican intolerance, inaction and indolence were succeeded by thrift, energy and modern progress. Chas. E. Pickett wrote to Ford, Waldo, Burnett and McCarver, in 1847, that California would buy all Oregon had to sell, as they would need there that year at least 20,000 barrels of flour, and other Willamette products in proportion. He told them that potatoes were worth $2.50 a bushel, flour $16 a barrel, and lumber $50 a thousand feet. All these things—commercial, military and national—in California were quite exciting in Oregon. At one time our own government sent to Oregon to ascertain what aid could there be obtained in case it were needed in the struggle with Mexico. For a long time life in Oregon was dull in contrast with life in California. During this period (April, 1847), Gen. McCarver, supposing that the administration at Washington would set up the official machinery in Oregon, wrote to his friend, Gen. A. C. Dodge, Delegate from Iowa, asking his aid in securing a government appointment as Indian agent, register of a land office or marshal. It was not until several years after that the government was prepared to create and fill these offices, by which time McCarver himself had joined the vast army of restless men who in the meantime had marched into California.

DISCOVERY OF GOLD AT COLOMA

GOLD was discovered at Sutter's sawmill in California in January, 1848. It was exciting, of course, but owing to the lack of communication and transportation facilities the news traveled slowly. It did not reach Oregon until the summer was well advanced, half a year or more after the event itself. It came then by ship to Honolulu, and from Honolulu was brought by Governor Douglas to Victoria, thence sent to Fort Nisqually and on to Fort Vancouver. This now seems almost incredible, but it is an historic fact. At the time of reaching the Willamette a Boston sail vessel, named the Honolulu, was in the river from California, loaded with produce for California. Those on board knew of the gold discoveries, but had said nothing about them, as they did not want to excite the people until their purchases were completed. They then not only confirmed the other reports, but gave out later, fuller and more disturbing information. The whole northern coast, from the Rocky mountains to the sea, was agitated. Men instantly began making ready to go to the diggings, most of them overland. Some took wagons, others pack animals, while many walked and worked their way. Among the prominent Oregonians who went were Wm. P. Dougherty, Edmund Sylvester, Peter H. Burnett, Joel Palmer, Samuel Hancock, Morton M. McCarver, A. L. Lovejoy, Francis W. Pettygrove, John M. Shively, James W. Nesmith, Wm. H. Rector, Columbia Lancaster, D. B. Hannah, and others equally well known. From Puget Sound went, it is said, forty men with twenty wagons. The Hudson Bay Company lost a hundred employees at Vancouver. Victoria and distant Colville felt the drain. In all several thousand men and a few women and children went south in this rush for gold, a large percentage of whom later returned to their places of former abode in the north. For a number of years new and exciting conditions prevailed all over the coast, the costs of living and wages being immensely increased, and the commercial development hastened a century in the course, perhaps, of a decade.

IN THE RUSH TO THE DIGGINGS

AMONG the first to go was Gen. McCarver. His ambition had for some years been depressed by the slow, monotonous, poverty-stricken life of the Willamette valley. The dearth of opportunities there for honor and distinction, in politics, in trade and for the acquisition of wealth, the lack of educational facilities, the feeling of lonesomeness occasioned by the immense, unpopulated distance intervening between the valley and the Eastern States, and the months of time required to hear from friends and countrymen there, added to the distressing neglect by the General Government, quite similar to that since experienced by our fellow citizens in Alaska, had taxed his patience and worn upon his mind until the situation had become almost unbearable. Really, things were not so bad as he and the majority of Oregonians imagined. Considering everything, the growth and progress had been wonderful, and there is hardly a doubt that if gold had not been discovered in California, Oregon, as then known, and including what is now Washington, would have been during all the years since infinitely the greater and more important region. This gold discovery was seized upon by the men of Oregon as their particular chance, they being nearer the field of operations and having almost a year's advantage over those whom they anticipated would come from the States and Europe. McCarver was the first to go. He speedily arranged for the care of his wife and their children, and, mounting his horse and accompanied by D. B. Hannah and a few others, with pack animals, was on the trail for California early in August, and in about a month was in the mines five hundred miles to the south. The Oregonians generally went as they came from the East, by wagon trains. The preparations were more extensive, the parties larger, and the time consumed much greater than in the case of McCarver. Peter H. Burnett, for instance, organized a company of one hundred and fifty men, with fifty wagons, and employed Thomas McKay as guide. They were unable to start until September, and were two months on the way. There were so many men from the north that the Oregonians at once became a noted class, more conspicuous than other newcomers, and it may almost be said were the dominant factor for awhile. They certainly left their mark, and a good mark at that, upon the political and social structure then building in California.

McCARVER SUGGESTS THE CITY OF SACRAMENTO

McCARVER secured a mining claim on Feather river. It was fairly good and yielded its yellow metal to the inductrious workers in paying quantities. It was a poor claim those days that paid only six or eight dollars per day to the man; a medium claim would pay from nine to fifteen dollars, and a good claim would pay more, from twenty to fifty dollars, and sometimes a hundred. Wages, of course, were high, anywhere from twelve dollars a day up. McCarver worked his own claim, with a couple of helpers. He was attacked by the mountain fever, and for a time was obliged to run the rocker while the other men shoveled the earth and handled the water. Tiring of this sort of life, and seeing a better chance to make money in town building, Gen. McCarver called upon the Sutters, father and son, both named John A., the son at that time, though, having the management of the property. This property consisted of a Mexican land grant made by Gov. Alvarado in 1841 of eleven square leagues to the elder Sutter, and upon which he had since made his home, and had become the largest employer and the most useful man in California. McCarver suggested the laying out of a town and sale of lots, and, as the Sutters knew nothing of that kind of business, offered to manage the enterprise for them. The offer was accepted, and an engineer named William H. Warner was employed to survey and plat the town in the fall of 1848. This town was called Sacramento. The manner of platting was so satisfactory to McCarver that when he laid out another town, twenty years later, on Puget Sound, he used the same system of lots, streets and alleys, lengths and widths, as was used in the platting of what became California's capital city. About the time the Sacramento plat was completed, in December, McCarver's old associate, Peter H. Burnett came along. He, too, had been mining, and he also wanted a change of occupation. Becoming acquainted with young Sutter, he secured for himself the business that had been promised to McCarver. He was to sell the lots and attend to the legal business of the family for one-fourth of the gross proceeds. He was a lawyer and McCarver was not, and the Sutters were somewhat involved in litigation and fearful of bankruptcy at the time. Gen. McCarver was astounded at what he regarded as the duplicity and treachery of his former friend, Burnett. Among all men, such an act was least expected from him. He never forgave Burnett, and took care thereafter to have nothing to do with him. Burnett handled the property advantageously, and soon Sacramento was a city. He made $100,000, aside from living and other expenses, in six months. By that time Sutter's debts had been all paid, the father resumed charge of his property, and appointed another man agent in place of Burnett. Very serious land troubles soon after followed at Sacramento between squatters on the one side and those holding under the Sutter grant. Riots and litigation were features of the trouble, in one affair four men being killed and five wounded, the mayor being shot in four places; another bloody affray resulting in as many casualties, the sheriff in that case being among the killed.

HE SETTLES AT SACRAMENTO

GEN. McCARVER, failing to get in his hands the sale of the Sutter lots, with the indomitable energy that characterized him throughout life, entered upon other lines of business. When he went there nothing possessing even the semblance of a town existed, Sutter's Fort being more than a mile away, and there being on the river front nothing whatever. Soon, however, tents and huts appeared, the street lines being indicated, and vessels came to the place from San Francisco. McCarver bought a number of lots and built upon them a dwelling for himself and wife, a store in which he carried on mercantile business and houses to let. He also bought a schooner, and put her into the trade with the bay. There were no steamers on the river, and until then none but sail vessels engaged in the trade to and of California. A common trip from San Francisco required a week of time and was anything but one of excursion, picnic or pleasure character. It wasn't long before steamboats were brought from the Atlantic, when the sail vessels were either put in less lucrative trade or laid away to decay in non-use. During their time, though, they were quite profitable, for the charges upon them were enormous. McCarver made a great deal of money at Sacramento, but he sustained heavy losses in the great flood of the winter of 1849-50. From the 2d of November to the 22d of March rain fell to the depth of 35 inches. The townsite was covered, steamers passed up the streets, boats for rescue purposes rented at $30 per hour. Hundreds of animals were drowned, and an immense amount of property was destroyed. For months the air was tainted by the decaying carcasses of the dead animals. This experience gave the General all of Sacramento that he wanted, and he sold out there and not long after returned to Oregon.

THE CITY'S FIRST POLITICS

BEFORE this, however, he had a number of experiences worth recording. Early in 1849 the necessities of the people seemed to require some form of civil government. Accordingly, on the 30th of April, a movement was made by the district in and about Sacramento to establish civil government after the American form. Eleven members of what was called a Legislature were chosen at a subsequent election, who were empowered to enact laws for the city and district. One of these was M. M. McCarver, and another was the well-known Samuel Brannan. This Legislature was of an economical turn of mind, and reported against much law making and many officials, the community approving the suggestions. Inside of a year, however, there was a change of officials and ideas, and a debt of $400,000 was created. Owing probably to the training in economy they had had in Oregon, the men from there were noted in California for their caution, prudence and saving, both in public and private affairs, while the men from the Atlantic were more venturesome, extravagant, wasteful and dangerous. They spent their money as fast as they got it, and too often spent that of others also. Gold was plenty and cheap, and with them it came and went easily and rapidly.

ELECTED TO THE MONTEREY CONVENTION

THE people of California found themselves neglected by the General Government much as the people of Oregon had been. Oregon, by the way, was this year (1849) given a Territorial organization. California, which had suddenly taken the lead, was never so favored. It was really without legal, acknowledged government from 1846 to 1850, when it became a State by act of Congress. Gen. Riley, commanding the U. S. forces, claimed to be Governor, and he also claimed that the laws of Mexico were still in force. This was pretense only, but as he assumed authority and it was substantially undisputed, and there was none other so good to take its place, it partially served the purposes of the people. The people made temporary laws and courts for themselves, San Francisco having a Legislature of its own, Sacramento another and Sonoma a third. Gen. Riley assumed still more; that is, the power to order a general election on the 1st of August for the naming of thirty-seven delegates to meet at Monterey Sept. 1st, 1849, there in convention to prepare either a plan of Territorial government or a constitution for a State government. This was what was wanted, and as he not only made the welcome suggestion but provided all the means for its execution, popular acceptance was assured. In accordance with his plan, meetings were held throughout the country for the purpose of putting in the field suitable men as delegates. The Sacramento meeting was on the 4th of July, in Fowler's Hall, Gen. McCarver presiding. William M. Gwin, formerly a Representative in Congress from Mississippi, but who then was in California to secure election as Senator in the new State he contemplated, made the principal speech of the evening. Resolutions were adopted favoring the proposed civil government, and arrangements were made for the coming election. A committee of twelve members was appointed to take further charge of the matter, including the selection of nominees as delegates to the Monterey convention. The election was held on the day appointed, and the convention met at Monterey in September. The members, upon recommendation of Gen. Riley, increased their number to 73, but 48 only took part in the deliberations and work of the convention. Those from Sacramento were L. W. Hastings, John A. Sutter, W. E. Shannon, John McDougal, E. O. Crosby, Morton M. McCarver, Jacob R. Snyder, and Winfield Scott Sherwood. Among those elected from Sacramento who did not serve were Charles E. Pickett, heretofore mentioned as a resident of Oregon years before. Sacramento and San Joaquin were the two populous districts then, each being entitled to fifteen delegates, while San Francisco was allowed ten and Los Angeles seven. Among the delegates participating were an officer of the U. S. army, an officer of the U. S. navy, and a number of native Californians who could not speak English. The members voted to themselves compensation of $16 a day and $16 for every twenty miles of travel; to their president, $25 a day; the principal clerks, $28; chaplain, $16, and so on down to the boy who served as page at $4. It was proposed to give the reporter $40 a day, but an after arrangement was made by which he received $10,000 for his work and 1250 bound copies of the debates and other convention papers. The bills were paid from a civil fund collected by Gen. Riley. These rates seem high now, but at that time in California they were not considered unreasonable.

FRAMING A STATE CONSTITUTION

WM. M. GWIN was among the members the newest resident of California, having been there but four months. He was a pro-slavery Southerner, a smooth, shrewd politician, an unprincipled schemer, and in his way the cleverest man in the convention. He intended being president and guiding the members in the directions he, John C. Calhoun, and others of their kind, wished them to go, and to make California a Southern State. He immediately found, however, that he could not have his way in all matters, and was politic enough to accept the situation, endeavoring to make the best of it. Robert Semple, a Kentuckian, who stood about seven feet high, was made president. The anti-slavery element was so strongly in the majority that any contemplated fight was given up without a word or a blow, the provision in the constitution prohibiting slavery being adopted without a dissenting vote. The greatest struggle was over the State boundary lines. The Southern interest referred to made its fight there, in the effort to have California include all the territory acquired from Mexico, from the Rocky mountains and New Mexico to the sea, between four and five hundred thousand square miles. It was at once alleged that this meant State lines that Congress would not permit; that the slave States would prevent admission of a free State of such vast area, much of it south of the Missouri Compromise line of 36-30; and that as a result or compromise there would be two States separated by an east and west line both fronting on the Pacific, one free and the other slave. After a prolonged and hot contest, in which the convention almost broke up, it was decided that the eastern line should be the Sierra Nevada mountains and Colorado river, though not until the other measure had twice received majority votes in its favor. Among those who most stoutly fought for the present State limits and freedom from slavery were the old Pacific Coast men—Semple, Hastings, Snyder, McCarver, Larkin, Price and others—with strong support, if not leadership, from Botts and other men more recently from the East. There seemed in the end to be only one way out of the trouble, and that was by refusal to engross the resolution, without which it was non-effective, and which with the turmoil of the moment served to cause a number of the majority members to yield. All the members said they were in favor of the smaller State, but several of them were drawn by Gwin to his way of thinking under the various forms of presentation that he put forth. McCarver early in the session presented a resolution, as follows: "The Legislature shall, at its first session, pass such laws as will effectually prohibit free persons of color from immigrating to and settling in this State, and to effectually prevent the owners of slaves from bringing them into this State for the purpose of setting them free." He succeeded after much effort in getting this adopted in committee of the whole, but by a sort of general consent it was there smothered, and never reported to the convention. He was much in earnest over this resolution, as he was, in fact over all matters interesting him throughout his life. As he grew older his feelings toward the colored races underwent change, his objections to them being modified greatly as he saw that the evils he apprehended concerning them on the Pacific Coast were not realized. In the convention he was outspoken in his objection to Indians being given the ballot, whether taxpayers or not. He strongly favored public schools, urging for them the utmost liberality and saying that no matter how generous the provision he would not live to see the time when the school fund would be too large. He helped secure a clause in the constitution disfranchising any citizen who participated or assisted in a duel. He favored biennial sessions of the Legislature, and measures generally looking to economy in public affairs. He opposed the idea put forward of legalized lotteries, even if they should, as alluringly asserted, yield to the State $300,000 per annum. In this connection Gen. McCarver said: "I think it very strange if the people of this golden region cannot defray the expenses of a State government without entering into a legalized system of gambling. If the government that authorizes the sale of lottery tickets and the purchasers of those tickets were not direct gamblers, they certainly were on the road to professional gambling." In the interest of California he favored securing the largest possible grant of public lands, his resolution saying the opinion of the convention was "that the public domain within the limits of this State in right and justice belongs to the people of California, and the undisturbed enjoyment thereof ought to be secured to them." It is told of him that while making a very earnest speech he "protested as a citizen of Oregon" against the measure then before the convention, and his fellow members thereafter jocosely referred to him as "the gentleman from Oregon." The record does not show that this slip of the tongue occurred, but it is not unlikely that it did. The convention completed the constitution Oct. 12th, and Messrs. Ellis, Hastings and McCarver were appointed a committee to so inform Gov. Riley, who immediately issued a proclamation conveying the news to the people. The next day the members signed an address to the public, gave votes of thanks, and, on motion of Gen. McCarver, adjourned sine die. This done, the members called upon Gov. Riley, John A. Sutter making to him a complimentary speech, to which he responded, a national salute being fired and a grand ball being given in the evening. Monterey was rather a primitive town for such a convention, but it was the best in California, Colton's Hall, where the meetings were held, being the only plastered house in the State. Lodgings were so scarce that the members generally used their own blankets and provided their own places for spreading them out. Like trouble was experienced in the matter of meals. It is said that Mr. Larkin, who lived there, made it a rule to take a fellow member with him every time he went to lunch or dinner, and that in consequence every member enjoyed at least one good meal during the convention period. Mrs. Jessie Benton Fremont, daughter of Senator Thomas H. Benton and wife of Capt. John C. Fremont, spent the six weeks there in the interest of her husband, who was a candidate for U. S. Senator. She was exceedingly gracious with these men of influence, as she also later was with the legislators, she being gratified in the end by the choice of her husband as one of the State's two first Senators. The constitution was ratified by the electors, and with a Legislature and full set of officers California became a State about the end of the year, Peter H. Burnett being the first Governor. It was not until September 9th, 1850, that Congress recognized California as a State and admitted its four members to seats in the national law-making body. It may be said, in concluding this subject, that the constitution of 1849 was a strong and good document, that served the people well for thirty years, and which it is now known was a better one than the constitution which succeeded it. The framers of it were men of character, strength, patriotism and ability, who as a rule had the public weal uppermost in mind, many of them afterwards distinguishing themselves in the affairs of the State and nation.

MILLIONS OF FLEAS

IN California, nothing more strongly impressed the first immigrants than the vast numbers of voracious fleas in and about the Indian and Mexican settlements. Apparently they either did not attack the natives, or the natives did not attack them, for it did not seem possible that there could be more of the insects than the Americans and Europeans found, and there being no sign or record of past efforts to in anywise lessen the number of the troublesome pests. There was extraordinary public and private scratching; preparation of and resort to all manner of death-dealing powders; loss of sleep, blood and temper, and in some cases, it was said, resultant insanity and suicide. The older the place the more fleas. San Francisco, Sonoma and Sutter's were richly supplied, but they were all younger than Monterey, where the fleas had multiplied undisturbed until they numbered up into the millions. They had effect of the most evident character in all the walks of life—night and day, at home, on the street, in church, and nowhere more perceptibly than in the Constitutional Convention, most of the members of which were new to this creature and many susceptible to a distressing degree. That the fleas lessened the number of convention days is not questioned, no more than that they served powerfully to aid in the immediate removal of the capital to San Jose. They also hastened the departure of the members after adjournment, none of whom delayed an hour unnecessarily in getting away from the place where they had been bitten so often, bled so much and suffered so severely.

LEAVES CALIFORNIA; RETURNS TO OREGON

WHILE several of his late associates went into politics —three running for Governor, two being elected to Congress, and others seeking various offices—Gen. McCarver returned to his home and business at Sacramento. He found that Mrs. McCarver was not contented; that the excitements and inconveniences of California were not to her liking; and that she yearned for the home in Oregon and the children left there without either father or mother. He felt somewhat the same way, and he therefore speedily arranged for her return. She sailed from San Franciscon on the bark John W. Cater, Nov. 12th, and after a long, dangerous and roundabout trip by ship, canoe and horse, via Victoria and Nisqually, got to her home in the Willamette valley. McCarver pushed his trade at Sacramento to the utmost for a short time, and until the great floods of that winter came and destroyed his houses. In the spring he determined to get out of it. When things brightened up a little, after the going down of the waters, and the rebuilding began most actively, he took advantage of the opportunity to sell out, realizing $30,000 in the transactions. With this money he went to San Francisco and speculated, buying and selling there and buying for the Oregon market. It was dangerous business, owing to the fluctuations in the labor, produce, merchandise, ship and money markets. One of the most serious troubles was in the latter. The little coin in the country was soon either in the coffers of the government, which would not take gold dust in payment of duties, for stamps or otherwise, or was sent to New York and elsewhere by merchants for goods. The gold of the miner depreciated until it would bring only seven dollars per ounce, and after that was sold at ten and twelve dollars—gold that actually was worth sixteen and eighteen dollars. Between the floods and the drouths, the land troubles, the scarcity of coin and the depreciation of gold dust, the awful frequency of fires, the social disorder, the wild speculations, the violent fluctuations, the unsettled conditions of all things and peoples, and the pull of family and other ties toward Oregon, Gen. McCarver was unable to resist, and he was soon planning and preparing for his own return to the scene of his former operations in the north. In the meantime he had bought the bark Ocean Bird, in conjunction with Simpson S. White, Berryman Jennings and Dolph B. Hannah, for $12,000. During her first trip to Oregon she cleared $12,400, and during her second trip for them, to the Hawaiian Islands, she brought them a profit of $16,000. She was commanded by Capt. Beard, whose widow subsequently married John McCracken, and she was a popular passenger packet. Among the many who came to Oregon on the Ocean Bird were Josiah Failing and his son John. The elder Failing was then looking for a place in Portland to begin, as Failing & Hatt, the mercantile business that later became so extensive and famous. McCarver made a number of trips on the bark as supercargo, dealing in Oregon products one way and buying merchandise in San Francisco for Oregon the other way. Among other purchases by him there was a piano, of upright form, made at Hamburg, Germany, which had been shipped in 1849, and stored in a bonded warehouse for sale. It remained in the family nearly half a century, at Oregon City, Portland and Tacoma, and is now in the Ferry Museum, a treasured reminder of the pioneer days of three great States. In securing this piano, and a lot of furniture at the same time, he was assisted by Capt. Charles Hopkins, many years afterwards U. S. Marshal for Washington Territory, and a son-in-law of Col. E. D. Baker, Senator from Oregon in 1861. Another purchase of his, in 1850, was a dwelling house, the lumber for which had been cut in Maine, sent from Boston by sail ship to San Francisco, and thence by the Ocean Bird carried to Oregon. He had it erected on the farm, paying the men who made the cellar and put the house together twelve dollars a day for their labor, Andrew Hood, the foreman of the masons, getting sixteen. It displaced the first dwelling, a log house. It contained six rooms, but in 1852 had three rooms added to it. Standing upon stone, and being for the time large, the McCarver house was conspicuous and imposing, and to this day it remains one of the best farm houses in the State, though not so distinguished nor so well kept as fifty years ago. Gen. McCarver was financially with the same men in the barks Carib and Keoka, which, however, were not as good business ventures as the Ocean Bird. Owing to this fact, and to the further one of seasickness, which he was unable to overcome, Gen. McCarver sold his interest in the sail vessels in the latter part of 1850, Hannah doing the same, leaving the business to White, Jennings and Lot Whitcomb, who sold the Carib and bought the ship Louisiana. They also built the steamer Lot Whitcomb, in 1850-51, but she was a money loser, too large for the Columbia river trade, and was soon sold and in use in California.

FARMING AS A BUSINESS

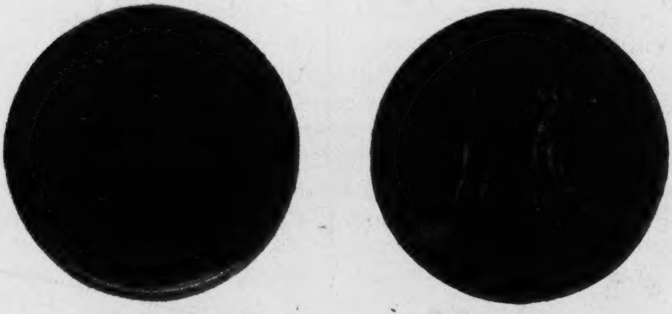
UPON his return to Oregon Gen. McCarver went back to his farm near Oregon City. The land claims there were all of the donation character. The chief of these was that of Dr. John McLoughlin, at the falls of the Willamette river, upon which was Oregon City. Immediately adjoining on the one side was the claim of A. L. Lovejoy, after-

The McCarver Farmhouse in Winter (front view).

The McCarver Farmhouse in Autumn (side view).

wards belonging to Absalom F. Hedges. Oregon City was then the commercial center and political capital of Oregon, and in all respects the important, consequential town. It is related of Mrs. Lovejoy that she would not go to Portland to live during the Lovejoy-Pettygrove days, as the place was too unpromising and too insignificant for her fancy and taste. On the other side of McLoughlin's claim was George Abernethy's, and just beyond his Rinearson's and Berryman Jennings's. These all fronted on the river. Immediately in their rear were in a similar row the McCarver, Holmes, Hunsaker and Cason claims, and back of them were the White, Vance and other places. On the west side of the river were the Field, Moore, Burns, Tompkins and Walling farms. Towns, so-called and actual, were close together in the neighborhood, including within a few miles Linn City, Canemah, Oregon City, Oswego and Milwaukie. The farms were good and of considerable value. Before going to California McCarver had put in an orchard of fifteen acres, containing two hundred apple trees, besides pears, plums, peaches, apricots, nectarines, cherries and bush and vine fruits. In 1851 he marketed fifteen bushels of currants. He not only sold fruit from this farm, but trees as well, he having a quite extensive nursery in the later 50's. Currant wine, apple butter, and similar fruit products were also made on the farm. While in California he had known Oregon apples to sell for well-nigh their weight in silver, four bushels in 1849 bringing $500, and forty bushels in 1850 bringing $2,500. Prices fell rapidly as the fruit supply was increased by production in California and Oregon, as well as by importations from Honolulu, Panama and elsewhere. One day Mrs. Hedges met Gen. McCarver and told him quite gleefully that she had just sold her apples to Mr. Strowbridge for eleven dollars a bushel. "And I have sold my apples, Mrs. Hedges," said neighbor McCarver in reply, "to Mr. Strowbridge for seventeen dollars a bushel." The answer quite disconcerted Mrs. Hedges. The General entered a collection of his fruit in the first fair held at San Francisco, being rewarded with a first premium and medal therefor. The first farmers of Oregon were not all fruit raisers, and "big red apples" were not so abundant as they later became. Mrs. Flett, the wife of

John Flett, one of the Canadian immigrants of 1841 brought out by the H. B. Co., used to say that until she went to the McCarver house she never knew apples to be offered to company, but that there she found them, and other fruit, too. During the present year (1905) the Iowa Historical Society received from the Oregon Historical Society a gavel made of four pieces of wood, one piece being from an apple tree that was planted for McLoughlin at Vancouver in 1826; another piece being from a cherry tree brought by Henderson Luelling in 1847 from Iowa; a third piece being from an aged Oregon grape, and the fourth, the handle, from a service berry bush on the McCarver farm, which had attained by its long years of growth a size quite unusual and remarkable.



Medal Given to Gen. McCarver for Fruit Exhibit In 1853

VISITORS TO THE FARM

SOCIALLY, life on the farm was of much interest during the days under review. The husband and wife were both hospitable. They always kept men and women to help, and they entertained freely and generously. The farm was on the first stage road to French Prairie, Salem, and the upper valley settlements. Many travelers stopped there to rest, and their number was large when the river was low and the boats were unable to run. At a later date the stage line was through Canemah. Parties of pleasure seekers from Portland went on horseback to the farm during the 50's.

The Holmes, Hedges, White, Ainsworth, Vance, Pope, Post, and other families were equally and similarly hospitable. At times the newcomers—from across the plains and by the Panama and Cape Horn routes—taxed the Oregonians severely, but that knowledge was kept from them as far as possible, and they were encouraged by the warmth of the welcome as though they were the first and only ones so received. It was a real pleasure to show these strangers the fine fields and gardens, and particularly pleasant to exhibit the orchards, which were then free from pests and beautiful to look upon. The McCarver farm was a common resort for the clergymen, particularly those of the Methodist denomination, who were the most numerous and traveled much. These gentlemen were Messrs. Hines, Wilbur, Roberts, Rutledge, Raynor, Doane, Devore, Blaine, Pearne and other good brothers; Bishop Scott, Dr. McCarty and Mr. Fackler of the Episcopal church; Dr. Geo. H. Atkinson and Cushing Eells of the Congregational; the Catholic Bishop, Blanchet, and his priests, as also Presbyterian, Baptist, and other divines of the pioneer period. In addition to these "men of the cloth" were the leading politicians, newspaper men, officials and others, such as Judge Olney, Gov. Curry, Gen. Lane, Marshal Meek, Judge Williams, Asahel Bush, James Birnie, Geo. E. Cole, and many more. When Williams arrived, in 1853, from Iowa, where they had known each other ten years before, Gen. McCarver met him and his wife at Portland and took them to the farm, entertaining them there for many days while they were overcoming the fatigue occasioned by the long trip from the Eastern States.

SON SENT EAST TO SCHOOL

IN 1851 Gen. McCarver secured for his son, Thomas Jennings McCarver, from Gen. Joseph Lane, Delegate to Congress, a cadetship at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, the first such appointment from Oregon. Accompanied by Capt. Hedges, who was going East to buy steamboat machinery, young McCarver went by way of San Francisco, Panama, New Orleans and the Mississippi river, to Kentucky, where he entered a school to prepare for the academy examination the following year. Instead of carrying out this cherished plan of his father's, the son went to Ohio and married Mary E. Goodlief, the daughter of a McConnellsville banker. Two years later (1854) they crossed the continent, settling down at Oregon City, where he dwelt until his death in 1881.

STEAMBOATING ON THE WILLAMETTE

UNABLE to restrain his propensity for indulgence in enterprises aside from the farm, Gen. McCarver invested some thousands of dollars in a steamboat in 1852. It was called the Shoalwater, getting its name from its supposed ability to run on the upper Willamette river when other boats would be prevented by lack of water. Leonard White was his partner in the beginning, but he subsequently parted with his interest. The Shoalwater was not a great success. In 1854, while making a landing, she experienced a serious mishap to her machinery, from which several persons were injured, though none seriously. This accident caused changes in the ownership and the boat, after which the steamer was named the Franklin. It was a craft a little less than one hundred feet long, and of about fifty tons measurement. The owners then were M. M. McCarver, Thomas J. McCarver and E. M. White. Her route was to Corvallis. Later she was called the Minnie Holmes, after a noted and popular young woman of the valley. In 1858, it is said, the steamer was taken to Salem and converted into a floating saw mill.

SERVES IN THREE INDIAN WARS

GEN. McCARVER'S military record in Iowa had three additions made to it in Oregon. In 1848 his services were accepted by Governor Abernethy in connection with the Cayuse war. He was assigned to the commissary department, of which Joel Palmer was chief, a place exceedingly difficult to fill. The men in the field, first under Col. Gilliam and then under Col. Lee, had to be fed and clothed, and the Provisional Government had neither money, credit nor goods for the purpose. It was much easier for the men at the front than for those in the rear, who were begging, buying, borrowing and "pressing" meats, flour and other necessaries and forwarding the same with added difficulties to the scene of war east of the Cascade Mountains. How so much was accomplished it is now difficult to see, and all were immensely relieved and exceedingly rejoiced when the Indians were brought to terms. This was in the summer of 1848, the men generally having lost a year on their farms that, in view of the California gold discoveries and resultant high prices for farm produce, would have been to them most valuable. Congress subsequently appropriated $148,000 for the payment of claims occasioned by this struggle. In April, 1854, Gov. Davis appointed James W. Nesmith Brigadier General; E. M. Barnum, Adjutant General; and Morton M. McCarver Commissary General. The troubles then were with the Rogue River Indians, and there was considerable fighting and expense. They ran over into 1855, by which time they were extended to the north and east, covering much of both Oregon and Washington Territories, and including Puget Sound, Yakima and Rogue River Indians. McCarver once more offered his services, which were promptly availed of by Gov. Curry. On the 11th of October he was commissioned as Colonel and Commissary General, and he served thereafter 458 days, until Jan. 10, 1857. His first duty was as Acting Quartermaster General, from Oct. 11 to Jan. 20, 1856, simultaneously serving as Commissary General. Oct. 15th he was ordered "to furnish subsistence, for at least thirty days, for the entire command which has been called into the field by proclamation of the Governor." He was also ordered to prepare for a more extended campaign. The next day (16th) he was ordered to Southern Oregon to arrange for the subsistence of the two battalions called into service there. He was instructed to require from his subordinates carefulness in their official records, and the utmost prudence and economy in the purchase of supplies requisite for the war. Oregon was yet in poor condition to maintain a state of war, but it was infinitely better than in 1848. The population was three times more numerous; the Government was regularly and fully established; and the United States was present with a considerable military force of its own. The Indians put up a stout and stubborn fight. The Oregon part was chiefly south of the Willamette settlements, towards California, in the Rogue river country. Gen. McCarver's headquarters was alternately at Salem, Portland and Roseburg. The Territorial officials soon found themselves at outs with Gen. Wool, commanding the U. S. forces. The General was stationed at Benicia, with command over the whole coast. In the beginning it seemed to him like a small affair, in which the whites were largely to blame. During the war he talked and reported in a manner extremely unpleasant to Governors Stevens and Curry and the forces under them. In truth, it seemed as if he were more anxious to make war upon the whites than upon the reds. Some of his orders were harsh, and if literally executed would probably have led to conflict of serious character. Only by disregarding his commands was peace preserved more than once. The two forces separated more and more, and in the end all was left to the regulars; but not until the subjugation of the savages was practically complete, the settlements were out of danger, and there remained only the making of arrangements that belonged alone to the General Government. War was a new thing to some of the settlers, and their ideas of conducting it were in some respects quite simple. Capt. Jonathan Keeney organized a company at Eugene. He seemed to think that all that was necessary for him and his men to do to get their rations was to help themselves from the store. Meeting with some resistance there the captain went to see the chief—McCarver. After telling what he wanted, McCarver replied that if he would fill out the blank requisition before him his wants would be immediately supplied. Capt. Keeney was more enraged than before by this pacific and proper reply, and roared out that he had not come there to do clerk work, and that McCarver could take his requisition and go to hell with it, leaving the place in high dudgeon at such useless formalities. A lieutenant in the company, shortly after, filled up the blank, and the provisions were dealt out to the hungry, impatient men. The expenses connected with this war aggregated over six million dollars, for support of the volunteers, their pay, etc. The government was very slow about assuming the burden or any part of it.

Before beginning so to do the estimates of its own commission were cut down more than one-half; and payments made upon that basis, eight or ten years afterwards, were in a currency greatly depreciated. The people of Oregon and Washington were very indignant for a long time at the shabby treatment given them in this matter, the contrast with that in California and elsewhere being most painfully striking.

GEN. WOOL'S OBNOXIOUS COURSE

ON the 2d of May, 1856, Gen. Wool went so far as to write to the National Intelligencer, of Washington, D. C., to the effect that in the February previous an Oregon military supply train of thirteen wagons, loaded with ammunition and other goods, for the volunteers, had been captured by the Indians between Umatilla and Walla Walla, his idea being to blame the Territorial authorities for sending such an expedition guarded by only four men into a hostile country. He denounced it as "one of the most unwise, unnecessary and extravagant expeditions ever fitted out in the United States, and for no other reason than to plunder the treasury of the United States and to make political capital for somebody. The Oregonians," he further wrote, "say the war is a godsend to their country." This was only one of a number of remarkable efforts on his part to malign the people, and all were intended with other like efforts to create prejudice against them in Congress and with the administration that they might be further punished by nonpayment of their claims against the Government. McCarver took exception to this unpardonable attack upon the people of Oregon, and as Commissary General, on the 15th of June, wrote to the same paper denying point blank the statement of Gen. Wool concerning the supply train. He concluded his reply to Wool with the paragraph following:

> That he has been deceived about the extravagant expenditures for the volunteer service, the official reports of the heads of the Department now making out to send to Washington will most fully show. Under these circumstances is it unfair to say that these expenditures have been greatly augmented by the mistaken policy and opposition of Gen Wool? A comparison of the expenditures of the two armies is most earnestly invited by our citizens to test this question. The state-

ment that volunteer services were unnecessary is disputed by the blood of more than one hundred and fifty of our people —men, women and children—consecrated by the savages to the memory of our American army, whose misguided head placed his troops in quarters in the midst of our struggle, and turned his missiles of warfare against a weak, unprotected and unoffending community which was battling manfully for life against that enemy who, without cause, murdered our citizens, burned our dwellings, and desolated our country, rendering it unfit for further civilized use. And now we are requited by a statement from the commanding general that our services were unasked, unwise and unnecessary; and that our calamities are regarded in Oregon as a godsend that we may plunder the public treasury. In the name of an injured community let me conjure you and the public to suspend your opinions until these charges and the causes which led to them are investigated. The prestige of Gen. Wool's name, with the halo of military glory which is justly attached to it for his previous military achievements, has occupied the public attention to our disadvantage. We have acted in the simplicity of honesty, claiming nothing but truth, simple truth, and truth only, to vindicate us from the sweeping charges, while we have at the same time availed ourselves of one of the first laws of nature to defend ourselves as best we could against an enemy he refused or neglected to give us protection against. Are we right in this? Time will show.

It will not be uninteresting to go a little further into this matter of the Indian war. The Territorial authorities cooperated freely and fully in the conduct of operations against the Indians, deeming it a common cause. At one time the Oregon Volunteers attacked the enemy north of the boundary line, which act was promptly condemned by Gen. Wool. Again Gov. Stevens sent Col. Shaw up the Columbia River with a force, passing through Oregon on the way. He notified Curry and McCarver of this intention, whereupon McCarver at once wrote: "It will give me great pleasure to render what assistance is in my power, to you or any officer under your directions, to further your very laudable object, and I will confer with Gen. Shaw upon the subject without delay." At another time Gov. Curry sent a small force under Col. Dennison to assist in repelling the Indians at the Cascades, in Washington Territory, which force was doubled in numbers by citizens of Washington joining Dennison, as Curry informed Stevens.

On another occasion Col. Shaw went after the hostile Indians in Eastern Oregon, fighting and beating them at Grand Ronde, with some loss to his command and more loss to the Indians. In a time of war, of course, these acts were all right, and commendable, whether Gen. Wool approved them or not. Stevens was particularly offensive to Wool, who finally refused to have further intercourse with the Governor, and returned to him by a staff officer the communications Stevens had last sent him. Some of Gen. Wool's official reports to the headquarters of the army and his instructions to his subordinate officers were so extraordinary, so threatening, violent, abusive and dangerous, that they are reproduced here to show how strong was the feeling he entertained during this period against the Territorial authorities and his own countrymen:

To Col. George Wright: "You will recollect that you have nothing to do with the volunteers or Gov. Stevens. If you should find them or any citizens in your way, you will arrest, disarm and send them out of the Yakima country. If any serious disaster should happen to your command, it would be a source of great rejoicing to scrip holders, and especially to those who are anxious for a long war, and who have proclaimed it a godsend to the people of the Territories of Oregon and Washington."

To Army Headquarters: "Gov. Stevens is crazy, and does not know what he is doing; and Gov. Curry's satellites go for exterminating the Indians."

To Army Headquarters: "I apprehend no difficulty if the volunteers can be kept out of the country. The object hitherto has been plunder—on the one hand of the treasury of the United States, and on the other extermination and plunder of the Indians, who have large numbers of horses and cattle. I do not believe Gov. Curry could have fitted out a winter expedition against the Walla Wallas but for the fact that they had a great number of horses and cattle by the capture of which the volunteers expected a large remuneration."

To Army Headquarters: "I have never doubted for a moment that as soon as the volunteers ceased their depredations and savage barbarities on the Indians, arrangements could be made satisfactory to all concerned. Nothing is required but common justice and the ordinary feelings of humanity to be extended to the Indians to keep them quiet and preserve the peace of the country. The object of the war has been, from the commencement, one of plunder of the Indians and the treasury of the United States, prompted by pecuniary and political considerations. Powers not conferred on the President of the United States were assumed by Governors Curry and Stevens in raising volunteers and marching them beyond their own jurisdiction, and making war on Indians peaceably inclined, and who would not have made war on the whites if they had not been attacked."

To Army Headquarters: "Every means will be exerted in the power of the pecuniary and political speculators of the Territories to renew the war, in the hope that they may by such means induce Congress to make an appropriation to meet their enormous scrip debt, amounting, it is said, to five or six million dollars." To Col. Wright, who had somewhat disregarded the General's harsh and dangerous instructions concerning the volunteers and Governors, was sent a letter of condemnation and repeated instructions, from which the following are excerpts: "The General wishes the instructions heretofore received to govern your conduct toward the two Governors." * * * "Were you not aware that when hostilities had begun, and the troops been sent to suppress them, the duties of an Indian agent (though a Governor) ceased; that the power of regulating the Indians then passed from the civil to the military? Your instructions were too plain to be misunderstood. How, then, could you permit the agent to precede the march of your column to Walla Walla, to treat with Indians you had been ordered to subdue?" * * * "Were you not persuaded of the fatality attending every act of Stevens? whether as agent he made treaties with the Indians, or as Governor he attempted to enforce them; that by the former he incited them to hostilities and by the latter protracted the war? The General has so often apprised you of these things (the fatuity of Stevens and your authority) that he cannot understand that you would permit him to assemble the Indians as an agent likely to further your views, or hesitate to prevent him as an intruder certain to thwart them. But this has been done, and the General earnestly hopes that the annoyances thus given to him may be the greatest cause of regret either you or he may have from the past. Warned by what has occurred, the General trusts you will be on your guard against the whites, and adopt the most prompt and vigorous measures to crush the enemy before they have time to combine for resistance; close the war and prevent further trouble by keeping the whites out of the Indian country."

PROLONGED VISIT TO WASHINGTON CITY

THE suggestions of General Wool did not meet with the response he hoped for; either from Col. Wright, who did not dare obey him, or in the Department of War at Washington, which could not approve him. He was soon after relieved from the command of the Pacific, being succeeded by Gen. Clark, and ere long was retired from active service. His attacks, persistently continued, had effect, however, in delaying payments of the amounts due Oregon and Washington citizens, and in reducing them more than one-half. When Gen. McCarver found that these war claims were obstructed, and might even be defeated, he went on to Washington City to do what he could to further them. He spent seven months of 1857 in this undertaking. While there the term of Gov. Stevens expired, and as he was not a candidate for reappointment, but on the contrary sought election to Congress as Delegate, and in this effort was successful, McCarver endeavored to secure the Governorship for himself. Coming from a Territory, he had no Congressional influence the President (Buchanan) was bound to respect. His friend Breckenridge did what he could for him, but it was another case of lack of influence of the Vice President with the Administration. Fayette McMullin, of Virginia, obtained the office and honor.

DETERMINES TO LEAVE OREGON CITY

McCARVER came back from Washington City determined upon a change. He had neglected his own affairs for three years, giving his services to the public, and pecuniarily was much poorer in consequence. He resolved to transfer his residence and business to Portland. This place had so grown that it had become the largest town in Oregon. While Oregon City had gained a little from year to year, it had lost relatively. It had been the Territorial Capital until 1852, and the home for years of Governors, Judges and other prominent people. The Regiment that came to Oregon in 1849 spent the following winter in the town, and in 1850, after their trial, was the hanging of five Indians for complicity in the Whitman massacre. There was the water power, with the possibilities and hopes connected therewith, and there was always that grand old man, McLoughlin; he who had been charged by his own employers—the H. B. Co.—sixty thousand dollars for moneys lost in helping needy Americans, too many of whom were ingrates, the charge being afterwards remitted, however; he whom Waller, Thurston and others tried so hard to deprive of his land claim, thereby hurting the town by throwing discredit upon the title and preventing sales of lots and the making of improvements; and he whom Hon. J. Quinn Thornton so eloquently said was in sublimity of character a Mount Hood towering above the foothills compared with other persons who have figured in Oregon history. The old white-haired Doctor died in September, 1857, and Oregon City then lost its most distinguished citizen, its founder and father, who had done more for the town in the days of its infancy and need than all others combined, and whose works would have been greater had it not been for the obstruction and interference of a few small-minded men near and about him. In and around the town were historic associations connecting it with the past by ties of sentiment that bound the pioneers tenderly but firmly. The Spectator was one of these, Oregon's first newspaper; Multnomah Lodge of Masons was another; the mint that made the Beaver money a third; the home-printed Webster Elementary Speller, the Literary Society, the first mills, the Provisional postoffice, early churches, schools, celebrations, elections and excitements being others. Its people witnessed its decline with real sorrow, and those who moved from it did so with real reluctance. One of these was Mrs. McCarver. She was warmly attached to the old place. She resisted for a time the pleas and arguments of her husband. When all other objections had been overcome, she said that going to Portland would be imprudent, would not be safe for her and the children, that Dr. Barclay, who had so many years attended them and brought them through their troubles, would then be too far away for consultation, and help from him would be impossible. Going to Portland, too, the town that had given Oregon City the severest blow, and that even then was suburbanizing it, was almost like treason. Necessity, however, was greater than sentiment and prevailed, of course. Gen. McCarver sold his half of the donation claim to William Dement for $14,000, but for forty years past it has belonged to the Warners. Later he sold his town lots, obtained in the middle 40's from McLoughlin, and from time to time Mrs. McCarver disposed of her half of the claim, giving portions to several of the children, and selling the remainder.

REMOVES TO PORTLAND; LOOKS AT VICTORIA

AND so, leaving behind relatives and friends—the Harveys, the Abernethys, the Moores, the Crawfords, the Lovejoys, the Taylors, the Whites, the Jennings, the Hedges, the Waits and others of the older set, as well as the Dements, Popes, Bucks, Peases, Johnsons, Prices and Charmans of the newer set—the McCarver family, following the Thorntons, Ermatingers, Thompsons, Ainsworths, Prestons, Kamms, Van Dusens, Knightons and many more who had gone before in different directions, moved down to Portland, and was soon at home in the newer place that was rapidly taking higher and higher rank among the towns of Oregon, that soon was to repeat the experience among the cities of the Pacific Coast, and that later was to do likewise among the great population centers of the United States; that very Portland that in the previous decade had overcome the Burnett and McCarver town of Linnton, that now was similarly treating the Territory's first capital, and that gives promise by substantial growth up and down the river to include ere many years both the rivals of its younger days within its own corporate limits. The family was no more than fairly settled in the new abode before the whole Pacific Coast was again in the midst of a gold excitement, second only to that of 1848-9. This time the discoveries of the precious yellow metal were in that part of Oregon confirmed to Great Britain by the treaty of 1846—on Fraser River. The Hudson Bay Company had bought several hundred ounces of gold in the latter part of 1857. Though the transactions were somewhat secretive in character, and the people there had no desire for a wild rush of miners, such as California had experienced, there was no possibility of extended concealment or repression. Reports of rich finds came more and more frequently, the gold was shown and passed from hand to hand, and tens of thousands of men were soon moving toward the new eldorado in the north. Most men went by ship from San Francisco; Oregonians and Washingtonians went either by Puget Sound or overland through Eastern Washington. One of the largest parties was headed by David McLoughlin, one hundred and sixty men, including many representatives of the first families of Oregon, their route being by Walla Walla and Okanogan. The Indians opposed them, but they fought their way through, three of their number being killed and seven wounded. Among the first to start was Gen. McCarver. He visited Whatcom, Fort Hope, Victoria and other places. At Victoria he found his old friend, James Douglas, holding the two places of greatest honor and responsibility—Chief Factor of the Hudson Bay Company and Governor of the Colony of Vancouver Island. The British Government was then arranging with him to take a second Governorship, that of the mainland, which then became known as British Columbia; Douglas holding each of these high positions, during exciting and trying times, one for six years, the other for twelve. His interest in and control of Hudson Bay Company affairs was relinquished in 1858, as inconsistent with his gubernatorial offices. McCarver did not care to personally engage in mining, and he saw no better chance for himself than in the purchase of town property in Victoria at Government and Yates Streets. With his usual sound judgment he became convinced that there was to be a city, and that money so invested would be safe even at the high prices prevailing in the tented town. In June he returned to Portland, where he not long after sold the Victoria lots at a handsome advance to Mr. Pritchard, who transferred his residence to the Canadian city. Other Portlanders moved to Victoria, including Capt. Wm. Irving, who entered the steamboat business, and whose son, John, has since carried it on with great distinction for many years.

OREGON POLITICS IN 1858-1861

GEN. McCARVER found his old neighbors deeply interested in politics. Oregon was trying to secure admission to Statehood. The election included delegates to a Constitutional Convention, which met in August, the people in November approving the organic paper presented to them by nearly four thousand majority. Slavery was prohibited by more than five thousand, while the entry of free negroes was forbidden by almost unanimous vote—7,559 majority. The early prejudices of the people were evidently continued with unabated force. Political feeling at that time was very ugly. The Democrats outnumbered the Republicans greatly, but they were divided on the slavery question. For several months it was not known whether Oregon was a State or a Territory. Both organizations were maintained, Geo. L. Curry being Territorial Governor, and John Whiteaker, State Governor. The State Legislature met and passed a few measures, which were held up until the matter was settled. The Territorial Legislature also met and carried on work as usual, not knowing whether its acts were valid or not. One feature of the work of the latter body was the granting of thirty-one divorces, the unusual number being occasioned by a provision in the Constitution forbidding such legislation by the State. The Congressional representation was dual in character; Joe Lane being Delegate from the Territory, while he was also Senator elect, Delazon Smith being his colleague and Lafayette Grover Representative. All this uncertainty and trouble continued until Congress on the 12th of February, 1859, provided for admission, a fact not known in Oregon until April. Smith's and Grover's terms were probably the shortest on record, ending with the Congress on the 3d of March. The feelings of political and sectional hatred were intensified in Oregon as the months went on. The people refused to re-elect Smith, allowing the State to go partially unrepresented instead. The slavery and disunion elements controlled the Democratic Convention in 1860, and the delegates to the National Convention at Charleston were directed to support Joe Lane for President. This was too large a plum for so new, distant and insignificant a State as Oregon then was, and it went to Kentucky instead; Lane, however, being named for the Vice Presidency. In the campaign that followed Lincoln and Hamlin were elected; Oregon, for the first time, going Republican. Lane and Breckenridge pursued the same course; remaining in the Senate until 1861, and then joining in the movement to destroy the Union which the people had said they should not control. One of Lane's sons became a Colonel in the Confederate army. Lane himself offered his services to the South, but was advised to return to the Pacific, and, in conjunction with Gwin and others, endeavor to carry the two States and Territory there out of the Federal Union. He came back for that purpose, but, to his astonishment, found a wonderful revulsion of sentiment. Oregonians were plainly for the Government. Washington, which had always been Democratic, in 1861 elected Col. Wallace, a Republican, to Congress. In California like feelings were manifest. Thousands of men from San Diego to the Strait of Fuca enlisted for the defense of the Union. From that time to this, with occasional temporary lapses owing to local causes, the Pacific Coast has been Republican, and the Democracy has paid long and bitter penance for the errors of the period under review. Lane, who had been extraordinarily honored in Oregon, was received not only coldly but hostilely, and went into retirement at Roseburg from which he never emerged. Time, however, softened the feelings of all, and twenty years later, at his death, the pioneers of Oregon, without regard to party and other prejudices, paid warm tribute to the memory of their former Governor, Delegate and Senator, eulogizing him for his distinguished public services, military and civil, and for his sterling worth as a private citizen and neighbor. Gen. McCarver, though not a politician, was always connected with party movements and doings, contributing his time, influence and money to the furtherance of his political faith. Though a warm friend and supporter of Lane's, he was an anti-slavery Democrat. He regretted exceedingly the unhappy condition in which he and his fellow partisans were involved, but as he could not control matters he endured them as philosophically as his nature would permit.

COLLECTING INDIAN WAR CLAIMS

McCARVER made a study of the question of Indian war claims. In his own interest and that of his fellow citizens he entered upon the business of their collection at Washington City. The opposition of Gen. Wool years before, and the assertions that the Oregonians were Indian murderers and Government robbers, constantly retarded these collections, prevented many just ones from being paid, and added to the costs of all. McCarver was reasonably successful in this line, to which he later added operations in land warrants or scrip and mining. These pursuits occupied him during the greater part of the nine years following his brief experience in British Columbia.

ANOTHER GOLD STAMPEDE; GOES TO IDAHO

AS A trader among the Indians, E. D. Pierce was in the country between the Cascade and Rocky Mountain Ranges prior to 1860. As all such men were at that time, he was something of a hunter, goldminer and general frontiersman. He had seen enough to convince him that there was gold in paying quantities in various parts of what was then Eastern Washington, but which have since become parts of Idaho, particularly in the country drained by Snake River and its branches, the country of the Spokane and Nez Perce Indians. While these Indians were more or less suspicious of the whites, and in some cases hostile, he did not care to alarm or anger them, but after peace was firmly made, treaties signed, and the white men given rights before disputed, his fears were allayed, and he did not hesitate to lead a party of ten men from Walla Walla into the district he had in view. The diggings they found, in the fall of 1860, yielded from 8 to 15 cents to the pan. In December of the following winter he took in another party of thirty-three men, who stayed several months. They found gold as anticipated, though fine and requiring quicksilver to collect. The news went to the West, and soon the men of Oregon and Washington were moving up the Columbia River, first singly, then in parties and soon by hundreds. Before the summer had come a thousand were at the new mines. Pierce City, Oro Fino City and other towns sprang into existence, some of which passed out of it almost as rapidly. Portland, the Dalles, Walla Walla and Lewiston got the first substantial and enduring benefits. Before long men were going from California, British Columbia and the States of the Mississippi Valley, drawn irresistibly by the reports of miners making $10, $20, $30, $40 and more per day. The means of transportation were taxed to the utmost to move the vast throngs of men and their outfits, as also those bound for the new land of gold with stocks of goods, hotel furniture, horses, wagons and other things needed or supposed to be needed at such a time in such a place. The steamboat men on the river got large benefits from the beginning, such men as Ainsworth, Thompson, Ruckle and Bradford, and they proceeded systematically to fix themselves so as to continue in the exclusive possession of the trade, the extent of which would increase from year to year, they foresaw, until it would be immensely valuable. Short lines of railroad were built around the Cascades and from Celilo to the Dalles, the ownership of which was joined with that of the steamboats in the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, when by a single line freight could be moved from Portland to Lewiston. Gen McCarver saw his acquaintances going into these enterprises, and profiting richly thereby, and again he was tempted to risk a venture in the mines. It seemed as if he knew them all—Ankeny, Starr and the host of others—and that he must go. For a few months his family held him back, but at the beginning of 1862 he could stand it no longer. Forming a partnership with a man named Clark, they engaged in a commission and forwarding business at the Dalles, where for a time they made money. Seeing that operation of the railroad would be certain to hurt their trade, and feeling also that there was chance for more money in the mines than so far from them, they disposed of their house about the close of the year, and opened a general merchandise store at Powder River, in Eastern Oregon, where gold had recently been discovered. There they stayed but a short time, when they went on to Bannock City, since called Idaho City, in Idaho Territory. They took in another partner there, the firm becoming

McCarver, Clark & Townsend, and opened on Wall Street a large store, where for going on two years they did much business and made money rapidly. The firm put a portion of the profits into lots and houses, from which the members derived an income of $800 a month. In the summer of 1863 McCarver went down to Portland and got his wife and children and took them back with him to the mines, where they were comfortably settled in a short time. The winter succeeding was clear and cold, the spring backward, but the summer warm. Mr. Clark was the store man; Mr. Townsend did the buying and carried the goods in on pack animals, while McCarver collected the bills and rents and brought in trade. He soon became interested in quartz claims, and spent much of his time in examining them and preparing to place them on the New York market.

CRIME RAMPANT: JUDGE OF A POPULAR TRIBUNAL

IDAHO was a vast country. Cut off from Washington, Dakota and Nebraska March 3d, 1863, it comprised the enormous area of 326,373 square miles, taking in both sides of the Rocky Mountains, the Milk River, Big Horn, Black Hills, Fort Laramie, Fort Hall, Independence Rock, South Pass and Green River, so familiar to the fur traders and immigrants of the 30's, 40's and 50's. Even after its political creation, things moved slowly, Gov. Wallace not being appointed until July, and not getting to the first capital —Lewiston—until the latter half of September. Though he had been in the Territory only about a month, he was elected Delegate to Congress on the 31st of October. It was many a year afterward before another Republican was so honored, as Idaho, after the first rush from the West, was peopled chiefly from the East, the immigrants consisting mainly of men who sympathized with the Southern Confederacy, but who did not care to risk their lives on the field of battle fighting for the cause and principles they so loudly prated about. Secession was as boldly talked as if it were Texas or South Carolina. The U. S. officials were a proscribed class. Union men were awed, and free speech by them was not allowed. It was unsafe to fly the Stars and Stripes. On one occasion twenty-one bullets were sent through a flag hoisted over a newspaper office, as a sign of disapproval and of warning to the editor. This condition of affairs had its effect upon all classes. It was anarchy. The Territorial Legislators were among the chief offenders, refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the Government that was paying them; the organization being given the title of "the Guerilla Legislature." The second Legislature was described by some one as "infamous" and the third one as "Satanic." Lawlessness of all kinds resulted, and for years was rampant. Highway robbery was the most common, and murder hardly less so. Horse thieves abounded; gambling was carried on publicly; arson was frequent. The more audacious the villain, the greater seemed to be his immunity from punishment. When the people could stand it no longer, they rose in their might, set aside the courts, and by the organization and operation of popular tribunals, usually called vigilance committees, seized the offenders and hung them in large numbers. This was done not only in Idaho, but at Walla Walla and other places on the border both in Oregon and Washington. The examples set in California during the previous ten years were considered in every way worthy of following. In the end the respectable element of society overcame the other, and law and order became the rule as on Puget Sound and in the Willamette Valley. During the short time that Gen. McCarver was at Auburn, on Powder River, he was insistently called upon to participate in one of these popular courts. Four Frenchmen were mining together. Having accumulated quite a lot of gold, one of the number determined to get it all. His three partners suddenly died, and the survivor was found to be leaving camp with the gold in his possession. He was detained. Acting as judge, McCarver called a jury. As there was no one in camp qualified to hold an autopsy, another method was resorted to of ascertaining the manner of death of the victims. A hungry dog was brought in and fed as much of the bread baked by the survivor and eaten by his partners as the animal could get down. This was done in open court, in the presence of jurymen, prisoner, spectators and all. The dog had hardly stopped eating before it was seen that he was poisoned, and in a few minutes he was dead on the floor. The evidence was accepted by the jury as conclusive, a verdict of guilty was rendered, and the man immediately sentenced to be hung. The prisoner thereupon acknowledged his guilt, saying he had put poison in the dough, and telling the whole story. Upon being asked what he had to say why he should not be punished for his crime, he replied that hanging him would be no good to them, and that it would be better if they would let him go back to France to die. This statement and plea were not at all convincing to the court. Inside of an hour the little Frenchman was hanging by the neck from the limb of a tree standing within sight of both the scene of murder and the court of justice.

GOES EAST TO SELL QUARTZ MINES

THE leopard, it is said, cannot change his spots. Nor could Gen. McCarver change his nature. Though he was doing well in Idaho, and to the great majority of men under such circumstances there would have been every reasonable inducement to stay, he was moved in 1864 to undertake a new line of enterprise in a new field. He arranged, therefore, to leave the Idaho business with Messrs. Clark and Townsend, his partners, while he undertook to interest Eastern capitalists in the quartz mines, and secure their opening and operation. The mines of Nevada were then attracting great attention, and it was hoped to accomplish as much in Idaho as had been accomplished in the other Territory. In November the General took his family back to Portland. After settling them there he went on to New York, arriving early in 1865, where he remained most of the year. Associated with him in this business was Mr. Justus Strowbridge. The war of rebellion was just ending. The money market was found to be in unsettled condition. With peace assured there was an unusual demand for Government bonds, into which went hundreds of millions of dollars. The premium on gold and the disturbed condition of the country had baneful effect upon legitimate trade. Speculators felt that in the Southern States would be found for many years one of the finest of fields for moneyed operations. Things were quite disturbed, and there was manifest aversion to taking up new lines in a new region so remote and so uncertain as Idaho. Though his attempt failed in the main, Gen. McCarver was greatly taken with New York, and if it had been possible for him so to do would have made it his home.

While he was in the East Idaho City experienced one of those terrible fires so common among Pacific Coast mining towns, in which the whole place was wiped out of existence. With it went all the property of McCarver, Clark & Townsend except the lots. These were sold, the money divided in three parts, and the firm ceased. Upon his return to Portland, the General resumed his old business, in which he received material assistance from his friends, Lewis M. Starr and James Steel, President and Cashier of the First National Bank.

AT HOME AGAIN IN PORTLAND

THE old restlessness of spirit manifested itself again in 1867. Though then well advanced in years, he was not too old, he felt, to make another move. For nine years he had thought of Puget Sound, since his trip to the Fraser River mines. He had then been impressed with its beauties, and since had watched its progress carefully. The Northern Pacific Company had been chartered and subsidized to build a line of railroad from Lake Superior to Puget Sound. When that was done there would certainly be a mighty development of commerce and trade, and there would be at least one city of the greatest magnitude upon its shores. As the years went on there was more and more talk of these coming things, and they plainly enough were closer and closer. He looked over the maps and official reports; he read the newspapers of the day for events from that quarter; he talked the subject with those living there; and the more he talked and read and thought the more the fever grew upon him, until he was unable to withstand it. His wife thought it better for him to stay where he was, and his Portland friends generally smiled at his intensity of feeling, saying nothing of the absurdity of the idea that on Puget Sound a city would arise that would rival Portland, then a place of ten thousand inhabitants, or ten times as many as were to be found in either of the two largest villages on the Sound. His pleadings, his arguments, his enthusiasm finally had their effect upon his friends Starr and Steel, who concluded to join the old gentleman in a town-building scheme on Puget Sound, provided he would personally undertake, direct and manage it, they being silent partners undisturbed by it in their private affairs one hundred and fifty miles or more away. It was an exciting and happy day for this sturdy old pioneer when he received for his projected enterprise the sanction and support of his shrewd, young friends. He stepped higher and quicker; the sky was brighter, the earth greener; his own cordiality was increased, and he shook hands with every friend he met; the moment he entered the house his family knew that something was stirring and pleasing him, so like a boy was he in his eager and happy agitation. To those about him, however, his impatience to get off was almost distressing. It made no difference to him that it was yet winter; that spring would be on in another month; that it was rainy, windy, muddy, cold, uncomfortable, perhaps risky. Other folks were thinking as he was thinking, and planning as he was planning. One of these other folks might get ahead of him. He must not wait; he could not; too much was at stake. Little delays were placed in his way, that he might be held back until the days were longer and the weather fairer. His preparations went on resolutely, however, and by the last of March, 1868, no tie was strong enough to longer hold him.

There was much of heroism and pathos in the later years and acts of this man, unintentional on his part and unbeknown to him, but there nevertheless. In this enterprise they made themselves strikingly apparent. Just think of it! Here was a husband, a father, a grandfather, one intensely devoted to his family, a man who had been highly honored in several States; who had again and again led off in movements to make habitable the wilderness, to open it to civilization; who had braved the dangers, undergone the deprivations and withstood the hard blows of frontier life for half a century; who then might be expected to be settled comfortably in a pleasant home for the little remainder of his days, or at least looking earnestly for such a home; who had friends all around him, eager and willing to help him, but more anxious to keep him near them; here was such a man, comparatively poor, in his 62d year, making a new start, in a new country, among strangers, with a view to founding a great city. It was remarkable. It is almost incredible. But it was so.

OFF FOR PUGET SOUND

HIS people supposed that he would go by the ordinary route of travel, and the ordinary means of conveyance, taking his trunk and riding on the stage. He had no such intention. He would go on his horse, just as of old in Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa, across the continent, to California and always. He might want to go faster than the stage, or slower; more than likely he would want to take side trips, and extend his explorations beyond the end of the stage line; he wanted to stop by the way at Monticello, the old Cowlitz Farm, Pumphrey's Landing, Claquato, Grand Mound, Tumwater, Fort Nisqually, and see the Huntingtons, Jacksons, Daviss, Fords, McFaddens, Packwoods, Tilleys, Bushs, Chambers, Crosby, Huggins, Dougherty and other places and people of the olden time. He must thoroughly acquaint himself with the country, and to do this it was necessary for him to go in the way he had planned and intended. So his horse was at the door at daylight, and before six the General had breakfasted, was mounted and gone.

It was a great trip to him. His youth had seemed to return. His enthusiasm was unabated to the end. It is not likely that any other man ever saw so much to admire on that route as he then saw. Though his expectations were high, he was astonished himself. The valley lands seemed to him exceedingly fertile; the timber appeared to be higher and finer than that he had heretofore seen, even in Oregon; there were waterpowers at frequent intervals; indications of coal were abundant, and from what he heard the qualities were of the best; there was stone for the roads and stone for building; he was sure there was gold in the streams and mountains; the air seemed delightfully balmy, possibly on account of the proximity of the sea; the scenery, that was attractive on the Columbia, increased in beauty and sublimity with every mile of northward progress; his spirits continually rose, his convictions of success were more assured, and he heeded not time, distance, hunger or toil.

A REMARKABLE COINCIDENCE

WHILE this was his own condition of mind and body it was not so with his horse. The animal had keen perception of these things; of the miles he had gone; the sweat he had made, the emptiness of his stomach and the arrival of the time for another night's rest. Without guidance from the man on his back; in fact, with gentle opposition from him, the horse one evening moved up to and resolutely stopped at the humble abode of a new settler. Gen. McCarver was received at the door by a young man, who said that he could take care of the horse very well, but he did not know that he could suitably accommodate the rider, as they had sickness in the house and he was without help. Upon learning where the stranger was bound, the young man said that it would perhaps be better for him to come in, as the next place was several miles away, and it might be they there would be unable to keep him. Gen. McCarver in reply said that he would do so; that he would look out for his own horse, give as little trouble as possible, and would be grateful for the smallest assistance or service. A fair supper was given him and a bed assigned in which he slept soundly the rest of the night. The absent thoughts and peculiar actions of the host he rightly attributed to the sickness of his wife before referred to. In the morning McCarver was up and out early, attending to his horse and preparing for resumption of his journey. The young farmer met him, his manner quite changed from that of the night before; for now he was easier in mind, laughed, spoke lightly, and seemed much happier. He told McCarver that during the night he had been made a father, that it was a boy, and that they were going to call him George Buchanan, after his father and his grandfather. The memory of the General flashed back at once to the almost precisely similar occurrence thirty years before, in Iowa. The coincidence was the most striking and remarkable he had ever known. Of course, he had to tell his young host the story, no less to his astonishment, who in turn admitted his birth and former residence in the Hawkeye State. Before leaving, Gen. McCarver saw the mother and the baby, and he left for the latter a token of value just as he had done in Iowa when in the family of the first George Buchanan the second George Buchanan was born.

ARRIVES AT COMMENCEMENT BAY

GEN. McCARVER had no idea of locating on the upper Sound, and so he passed by Olympia, Nisqually and Steilacoom. He was positive that the future city would be on or near the middle waters. The bay at Seattle looked good to him on the map. So also did the bay then called Commencement. Seattle bay, however, was taken and occupied, while Commencement was not. There apparently was a better opportunity for him at the latter. If on inspection and examination it proved adequate and satisfactory he would there stop. If not, he would go on to the north. In view of the coming of the Northern Pacific Railroad he wanted his town to be near the passes in the Cascades that were best. At that time the only passes in use, or that had been in use, were the Snoqualmie and Natches, and they were universally supposed to be the best through the mountains. He believed that a town located between these two passes would occupy a favored position, and he knew that one built on Commencement Bay would, from his standpoint, have that advantage. Events have since proven that there were other passes, and these other passes have been taken by the railroads in preference to the ones named. This, however, could not be foreseen by him, and the judgment that he formed in the matter was a sound one, beyond doubt. So he was heading from the beginning for the place marked on the map as Commencement Bay, and as he drew nearer to it his expectations and excitement somewhat increased. As he slowly rode over the Nisqually Plain, sometimes veering off to the east and again to the west, looking at the several lakes and the creeks flowing from them, he was impressed with the beauty of the scene, as hundreds before him had been and as tens of thousands have since. The prairie then was under a carpet of green, broken only by the roads, water and timber. The trees were chiefly firs, than which there is none more handsome, and it was like one great park of 100,000 acres, dwarfing to insignificance the finest public grounds of other parts of the world. He could not help but congratulate himself upon the magnificent feature this great park would be of the city he hoped to plan and begin on the bay a few miles distant. And he rode on and on, off the prairie, into the woods and down to the bluff overlooking the bay of which he was in quest. His map came out, he looked at it and then at the scene before him. There was no mistake. This was the place he had sought. There was the capacious, landlocked harbor; there was the Puyallup River, the beautiful valley through which it flowed, and near its mouth the Indian Reservation; there were the mountains to the east and the west; there were the lands and waters seen, surveyed and described by Vancouver seventy-six years before, by Wilkes twenty-seven years before, and by Stevens fifteen years before, all of whom had contributed to the knowledge of him who was then there with intent to make it what it has since become—the seat of a great city. He looked and looked, and as he looked the conviction grew that he was right. Here was the great natural park; here the finest timber that grew; here the fertile valley; here the harbor, the famed Puget Sound, and just beyond the ocean; here was a land apparently adapted in every way to his purpose, and here were scenery and climate and all else needed to attract and make comfortable and happy the vast aggregation of human beings he hoped would profit later by his idea, his work, his life. Thoughts came to him of Burlington, Linnton and Sacramento, and his efforts to make towns at those points, but he now smiled at them; they seemed so insignificant compared with the magnificent prospect before him, and the future possiblities of this place that were running through his mind. As his thoughts went on, and the picture of the future was more extended and drawn more handsomely, he forgot the natural creature, forgot that he had eaten nothing since morning, and forgot that the day was drawing to a close. Not so the faithful horse. He became restless with the delay, and so strong and

NIV. OF ICH.

The Harbor of Tacoma, as seen by Vancouver in 1792, by Wilkes in 1841, by Stevens in 1853, and by McCarver in 1868

positive were his manifestations of desire to go on to the stable that the sympathetic rider was recalled from his mental wanderings and obliged to gratify him. They moved on to the reservation, where Gen. McCarver obtained shelter and food for himself and horse with the government farmer. Here the General found people like himself, who had been on the coast for many years—J. T. Elder, John Flett, A. W. Stewart, Wm. Clendenin and Dr. C. H. Spinning and their families. He soon met them all, and, as they were thoroughly congenial, friendships were then begun that continued to the end of life.

SELECTS A TOWNSITE

GEN McCARVER had obtained in the U. S. Land Office at Olympia a map of the public lands and the land claims on the bay where he then was. With this and his personal examinations, aided by those at the Reservation, he soon was informed as to the situation—what he wanted to do and what he could do. He found that Galliher and Judson owned more than a thousand acres on the south shore near the head of the bay, and that three miles down the bay, toward Point Defiance, were the only white settlers then living on the harbor, not including those on the Reservation, the people there being a father, daughter and two sons, named Carr. Between these places and back of them were several thousand acres open to public entry. The Galliher land was almost inaccessible by water, and the Judson land was so high above the bay that it was not desirable, or at least not so desirable as similar lands alongside that could be purchased for less than a dollar an acre in gold. The land of Job Carr looked better than any other. There was a gentle ascent from the water, and no dredging or other improvement of the bay in front would probably be required. There was good soil, and there were springs of running water capable of supplying the wants of several thousand people. There unquestionably was the place to start the town. McCarver broached the matter to Carr, and offered him ten dollars an acre for his land. Carr accepted the offer, with the condition that he be allowed to retain five acres where his home was. The General's reasoning, his sanguine nature, and the hopeful view he was now taking of the situation, had combined to almost positively assure him of a degree of success that he had only dreamed before. It grew all the time, the visions becoming more and more rosy and golden and beautiful. He could not understand why others had not been on the ground ahead of him, with similar intent. At times he would almost doubt the reality of it all, and again would be staggered with the immensity and value of the prize he saw before him. He was afraid that it might escape him, through some error of judgment or action. For once in his life, perhaps the first serious time, he hesitated. The responsibility of his position, to which he had heretofore given little heed, dawned upon him unexpectedly. He concluded that it would be better to divide it with his partners, and, even if it were not necessary so to do, he wanted them to look upon the picture as he had, admire it as he had, and put upon it their own estimates. He therefore arranged with Mr. Carr for a couple of weeks' time, and on the 8th of April started for home. On this occasion there were no side trips, no halts for the purpose of visiting old acquaintances, no passing of him by the lumbering stage coach. The horse soon learned that the master was in a hurry, and he went over the road in a way that did him credit for speed and endurance.

THE JOB CARR CLAIM PURCHASED

AS THEY heard the story of their old friend, the two Portland bankers were somewhat incredulous. They smiled at his enthusiasm, and believed that he was excited, and that when cooled off he would be more moderate in his praises of the northern country and the particular spot he had chosen for their town. They held back a few days, and laughed a little about it and joked the General over his youthful impetuosity. In the end it was arranged for Mr. Starr to go over with McCarver, and take a good look for himself and Steel. He, too, had a horse, a very fine riding animal, for which he had paid $500, and that, in its well fed and well groomed condition made a showy appearance upon the streets of Portland. The two men set off together. They had not ridden very far before McCarver saw that the

Starr horse was the faster of the two. The two men were like boys just out of school. They talked and laughed and shouted, and frequently raced their horses. By the end of the first day Starr's horse was visibly "the worse for wear," and the second day was plainly not equal to the less pretentious nag McCarver rode. The third day he was in worse condition, and by the time they reached the Puyallup Reservation was completely worn out, while the General's horse apparently could have repeated the trip more than once without special effort or injury. Upon looking over the land, Mr. Starr expressed himself as satisfied and gratified, and the Carr claim was paid for and the deed placed on record on the 23d of the month.

During the short time they were there, the two men camped on the beach near where Pacific Avenue now is, between Seventh Street and the level below. There they found a spring of excellent running water, and there Mr. Starr located a claim for his brother. While there they lived on potatoes and salmon bought from the Indians and boiled in sea water in tin cans over the camp fire. They found in the brush near by a small canoe suspended in the air, within which were the remains of an Indian who had died some years before. Up to about that time it was a common practice for the natives to lay away their dead in this manner, and on the north side of the bay were many such canoes so used. To prevent theft of these small vessels, the canoes invariably were spoiled for future use by being split or having holes bored through the bottoms. The whites on the Reservation discouraged this method of caring for the departed ones, and at their repeated suggestion a graveyard was established which has since been used by the Indians just as like places are used by the whites, and in which in most, if not all, cases, the bones of the canoe Indians have also been interred. Another find of theirs at or near the spring was a large round stone, weighing several thousand pounds, upon the face of which were cut, with what must have been much effort, marks or hieroglyphics that neither they nor others afterwards were able to decipher. They were somewhat of the totem character, and may have been the work of northern Indians accustomed to such things during one of their periodical and piratical forays. In the grading of Pacific Avenue in 1873-4 this stone was covered with earth, and probably never again will be seen by men. If its location could be ascertained without too much trouble, it would be well for the present city to exhume this stone and place it in one of the public grounds. Among the first people of Tacoma it was an object of much remark, theory and respect. Gen. McCarver selected for his claim the land alongside of Starr's to the northwest, where the coal bunkers, the high school and the large gulch are at this time to be found. Before they left Lucius V. Starr and James W. King arrived, and shortly after Thomas Hood and David Caufield, who proceeded to settle themselves upon the public lands, encouraged thereto by those having the townsite scheme in mind and hand. Starr's cabin was the first one up. McCarver's was not built until a number of weeks later. Upon completion of their errand they returned to Portland. Before going they visited Steilacoom and the country about, stopping at the places of Henry Elder, D. W. C. Davisson and others. At Davisson's was a spring of the clearest, purest, most delightful water, to drink which was so refreshing and invigorating that it was afterwards happily named by Mrs. S. C. Slaughter "Ponce de Leon Spring."

SENSATIONAL AND EXCITING RUMORS

THIS visit started the local gossips and newsmongers. The matter soon got into the newspapers in more or less erroneous and exaggerated manner. Gen. McCarver was spoken of as the founder of Oregon City, as being immensely wealthy, and as about to build a large sawmill, and that he and capitalists associated with him (none of whom were named) would build a railroad to the new town or secure its building by the Northern Pacific or some other company. McCarver was in nowise responsible for these statements. He had frankly told Job Carr that it was intended to lay out a townsite; that the town upon it would be made to grow as large and rapidly as possible; that the projectors would endeavor soon to secure the building upon it of a steam sawmill equal to any on Puget Sound; that they hoped also to make it the county seat and the trading point for the Puyallup farmers and residents of the upper Sound; and that they would strain every nerve to induce its selection as a terminal point for the Northern Pacific and Oregon Railroads, of which there was then much talk. Mr. Carr was not misinformed nor deceived, and never alleged that he was. In the repetition of the story, however, from first to second and third hands, it changed and grew until the difference was so great that it was beyond recognition. As a long-time resident, property owner and business man of Portland, Mr. Starr did not care to be publicly identified with a scheme to build up a city that might be considered a rival of the one in which he dwelt, and in which he had such extensive and friendly interests. Nor did he and those with him then think that the time was at hand for setting forth their plans, which, it may be said, were yet crude and far from determined. Nevertheless, sensational rumors were soon flying over the Puget Sound country from Olympia to Bellingham, of which the following in the Seattle Intelligencer of May 11th, 1868, may be considered a fair specimen:

> "But whether the Northern Pacific Railroad is delayed longer or not, coming next after that in importance is the projected railroad from Portland to Commencement or Puyallup Bay, and the laying out of a new town on that bay. It is of great significance, as showing the estimation in which our country and the Sound are held by capitalists abroad; it is of further significance in the warrant it gives of increase of business. Backed as the originators of this new town are by immense capital, with the charter of a railroad behind, the hope is reasonable that an impetus will be given to business on the Sound which will never be withdrawn."

INTERESTING DOINGS AND LETTERS OF 1868

GEN. McCARVER closed up his business in Portland in the shortest possible time. A few weeks were consumed in this way. When done he hurried back to the Sound, his family following later by wagon. In July they were living upon the homestead he had taken, between the Starr and Anthony Carr claims; experiencing a life somewhat new to them all. He took advantage of opportunities to make a number of trips about the country, visiting Steilacoom, Olympia, Vashon Island, Three Tree Point, Seattle and the valleys to the east and northeast. The agricultural beauties and possibilities of the Puyallup, White and Duwamish valleys impressed him most favorably, he frequently saying that in all his travels he had never seen better lands or opportunities for finer farms. Yesler and Maynard got hold of him in Seattle, and pleasantly joked him about the blunder he was making in locating anywhere else on Puget Sound than at their town, but he endeavored to give them back as good as they sent, and they parted the best of friends. Indicative of what Gen. McCarver was thinking and doing this summer and fall (1868) the following, from letters written at the time to his partners, Starr and Steel, will be of interest:

August 20—The main object of this communication is to urge the immediate construction of a first-class sawmill at this place. It would at once start a town of no small pretensions, having in contemplation a railroad terminus as well. Lots could then be sold rapidly at a fair price. There is more good timber here than at any other point I ever saw. The fir cannot be surpassed. Supplies of every kind can be readily obtained here for a lumber camp. Hay, for instance, can be got from the Indian Reservation at a nominal price. Within a few rods of my house I can frequently throw out with my bare hands, from the bay, enough smelt to supply a camp of fifty men. You talk to Mr. Ferry about our smelt catching. This morning I got a panful for breakfast at one haul. There could be no better place for a sawmill and boom than at and near my cabin. Neither current nor waves would disturb; the tides merely rise and fall, and vessels of any draft can approach within one hundred yards. I hope you will assist in getting up the mill company, subscribing liberally to the stock, and offering town lot inducements where necessary. Interest Coffin, Hallock and Nation, if you can. The machinery can all be secured or made in Portland. The shipping mills on the Sound are all running night and day, and are not able to supply the demand. Logs have lately been advanced in price. Mr. Ferry is highly pleased with Commencement City, and says he would like to live here. My family also say they have never lived at a new place they liked so well. Governor Moore has bought forty acres from Anthony P. Carr. It is a little off the shore. Moore does not want it known at Portland.

August 23—I do not much like the town plat after seeing it on paper. There are several objections I might mention. The wide streets should have been called avenues. This can be done yet. I have selected two lots in block seven, one for myself and one for my wife. I want you each to do the same, and we will deed to each other. I have been clearing my lots during the past week, with a view to building on them. I see from the papers that Dr. Loryea is on the way to the Pacific accompanied by several railroad and iron men. Don't fail to induce them to visit Commencement City, and come with them yourselves. They will report its probability as a railroad terminus, and perhaps they will invest here, as no men of judgment can fail to see and appreciate the importance of this place who will visit it and examine for themselves. Gov. Moore had no idea of purchasing until he made a thorough exploration, and I could only get rid of him by inducing youg Carr to sell him forty acres. If you do not wish to build a mill yourselves, do not fail to get other parties to put up a first-class sawmill here. It would add 50 per cent. immediately to the value of our property here. No better investment could be made on the Pacific Coast. The lumber market is unbounded, and for facilities for making and shipping Puget Sound cannot be beat. The mill should be built at the very spot where I am living. I hope you will be able to write me definitely soon that the mill is assured. Monastes might be induced to take stock to the amount of the machinery.

August 24—Get Mr. Ferry to talk to the railroad men who are coming with Loryea about visiting our place. He has been here and can describe it to them. You should leave nothing undone to induce them to come here. Dennison, Ladd and others interested in lands near the mouth of Nisqually River will make an effort, no doubt, to have them visit that locality, and will describe the water here as being too deep opposite our place. All that is necessary is to have them come and see for themselves, when they will find that this place has railroad terminus claims over any other point on the Sound.

August 29—Gov. Moore is trying to buy six acres more land from Anthony Carr, on the waterfront. Some Seattle men have sent me word that they would take an entire block at $50 a lot, but I refused to sell, as it would be hurtful to our interest to get rid at a cheap rate of so much land on the front. Your plan of selling every alternate lot, and reserving front lots, is a good one. Mr. Job Carr has not yet returned from Olympia, where he is engaged in doing some fine painting for Gov. Moore. When he comes we will try to settle the boundary line. It should have been staked off when the surveyor was here. The charge of Surveyor White against us is $120.

Every dollar put in a sawmill here at this time will be equal to five dollars to us in increasing the value of our land, saying nothing of the profit in lumber, the trade in which is constantly growing better. Do not fail to use all your energies to accomplish this object without delay. The old mill at Freeport, burnt several years since, is now being rebuilt, and so also is the old mill at Seattle, on a larger scale. I understand that parties in San Francisco furnish the machinery and money, they to get their pay in lumber at the mill. We ought to do better than that, but we would better follow their plan than none at all, as our interest includes the sale of lands and timber and the erection of a city.

Those men with Dr. Loryea ought to come here by all means. Could they but see this place they would purchase at once. No place in the world is better calculated than this for a large city. There is secure anchorage for all the vessels that ever were in the ports of London or New York at one time. Notwithstanding there may be a small space in the center of the bay from 50 to 100 fathoms deep, there is nearly or quite a mile all around the bay and in full view of the city of anchorage ground of from 5 to 20 fathoms, the banks or bottom sloping gradually from the shore towards the center, with eight or nine of the finest springs on the globe running through the city. No city has a more sightly location.

I am going with Capt. Clendenin and several other men to look at the iron and coal mines on Puyallup River. The iron, which is said to be extensive, is on the banks of the river, about eight or ten miles distant, and the coal is about twenty miles away on the same river and its tributaries. I have samples of the coal. It is bituminous and without sulphur; is good and is said to be very abundant. I will give you particulars on my return, and will send you samples.

I have been looking at some of the land we intend getting on the west. It lays well, and is covered with the best cedar timber I ever saw. There is a spring branch on the east side that is nearly as big again as the one at Mr. Carr's. The dry weather has not diminished their water apparently, which is as cool almost as ice. These magnificent cedar trees would be worth more than the cost of the land if we had a mill here. The mouth of this branch is the place for a ship yard.

September 8—You will remember that I wrote to you about the claim purchased of Stewart, immediately west of the land previously bought by me from Job Carr. While I was away last week, looking for coal and iron ore, four or five fishermen came and settled themselves upon this land, erecting a small house and shed upon it. When I returned I thought the land was lost, but was much relieved when told by them that they were there only for fish. It is a good place for drawing the seine, and in two months they expect to have four hundred barrels of salmon. I arranged with them to buy their cabin for $25 when they are ready to leave, and they gave me a written statement, signed by all, that they made no claim to the land either under the preemption or homestead laws.

The iron ore in Puyallup Valley, eight miles from here, on examination proved to be only an inferior bog ore. Many such places can be found near here, and I have already been to some expense exploring and examining such deposits, deeming it necessary to the interest of our city that we should know of them, and, if possible, make use of them where we can profitably do so.

David Caufield has just returned from a trip a few miles down the Sound. About twelve miles distant, opposite Vashon Island, on the east side, he found coal, specimens of which he brought back. It is a singular, dead looking coal, or lignite, which burns freely, leaving a gray ash, but having very little bituminous smell. It is in two strata of three feet each, with two feet of soft stone between. Doubtless the two layers of coal come together further in, making one of six feet in thickness. I send you some of the coal. You can shave it up with your knives, like rotten wood. It may be made useful, as it burns freely, and is without sulphur. I will find out at Olympia what is the condition of the land on which it is found, and will advise you. It is generally the case that one layer of coal lies immediately above another, often three or four, the lowest or deepest being the best. It is not unlikely this is the case here. If so the value of the find would be much enhanced by its proximity to the Sound. The outcroppings are about ten feet above tide water, the bluff being thirty feet high and covered with fir timber. Have the specimens carefully examined in Portland by scientific and practical men, and give me the results. There is a great field here for exploration and development.

September 17—Mr. Philip Ritz has visited Commencement City during the past week, and was highly pleased with our place for a railroad terminus. I was with him at Seattle on Monday and Tuesday last. He wants to get some land, and would like to buy a part of my claim. Young Carr has gone to Olympia to see him, and try to sell him forty acres of his own. Ritz would buy an equal interest in our holdings. His position as Director of the Columbia River and Puget Sound Company, and his influence with the Northern Pacific Company would make him a partner of value. We would do well to sell him a quarter interest at a fair, but not speculative, price. He is a wide awake, interesting and intelligent man. Neither he nor we must do anything that will compromise our chances for securing here the termination of the Union Pacific road. All the railroads approaching the Sound will terminate here if we manage our affairs well. If one comes all will come.

My family want to spend the winter in Portland, where the children can go to school. Next spring or summer we will move here permanently, everything turning out as I hope it will. We are all highly pleased. It is as pleasant a place to live at as I have ever found, and when I die I intend to have my bones laid upon these pleasant shores.

I am now writing a reply to the article in the Oregonian of the 8th instant headed: "Who First Thought of the Pacific Railroad?" It gives me an excellent opportunity to make public the importance of our townsite, without apparent ostentation. I was long ago given that credit, by reason of my printed letter, written in 1843, immediately after passing over the route now occupied by the Union Pacific Railroad. I shall also claim the paternity of the terminus here.

September 27—My family will go to Portland in a week or two. I will stay here, boarding at Carr's and on the claim until the expiration of my homestead period—October 21st.

I have not heard from Ritz since he left Seattle. Has he bought of us, as he proposed to me? I understand the Olympians almost smothered him with caresses in their efforts in behalf of that place. I think more of our place since seeing Seattle. The railroad engineer who would give it preference, taking everything into consideration, would recommend his employers to take counterfeit instead of gold and silver. Inspection is all we need to secure selection of our town as the railroad terminus.

I will start next Tuesday to examine the coal mines on Green River and Puyallup. They give immense value to our place. The Green River coal is only seventeen miles away; the Puyallup twenty-three. The coal can be brought here on a dead level line, and this is the natural outlet for mines there.

November 23—I arrived in Olympia from Tacoma yesterday. I came to get a commission as notary public for Washington Territory, so that I can take right of way acknowledgements from house to house when asking for lands for the railroad.

The sawmill is progressing as rapidly as could be expected at this season of the year. Workmen are numerous; more cannot be employed until the boarding house is up. The needed lumber cannot be got for two or three weeks. Two hundred thousand feet have been ordered, and six hundred piles of from 60 to 80 feet in length. Clearing and grading the ground is now under way. Mr. Hadlock has told me that he is highly pleased with the location. He says it appears to have been made to order. He says Commencement Bay showed no signs of the heavy southwest wind that swept over other parts of the Sound a week or so ago. The steamer Eliza Anderson then had to lay by thirty-six hours. A large boat was swamped at Seattle. It was quite calm that day at Tacoma, there being not the least interference with the passing of the smallest Indian canoes on the south side of the bay.

I have let the contract for drawing the logs out of the road, so that carriages may pass in and out without interruption. I have also engaged lumber and shingles for my dwelling house at Tacoma, and have sold several town lots. I have just written to S. W. Brown and A. G. Cook of the Puget Sound and Columbia River Railroad Company.

November 24—I will leave Olympia for Tacoma to-morrow, to complete the wagon road there, and take deeds for railroad right of way. There is really no chance for us to buy the Galliher mill land. He says he paid $3,500 for it.

Gen. McCarver's letters to his associates were a medley of public and private affairs, personal and partnership matters, family concerns, encomiums upon "our city" and vicinity, reports of progress, suggestions and appeals to them, etc.; all interspersed and intermingled. It is only fair to say, in view of this fact, that the foregoing, compared with the letters in full, were the result of much elimination and of considerable piecing, joining and changing; in no case, however, the idea, intent or meaning of the writer being in any wise altered or affected.

THE NEW TOWN NAMED TACOMA

THE name Commencement City became attached to the scene of McCarver's operations early in the summer of 1868. How this came about, or who suggested it, is not known, and for that matter it is entirely immaterial. It was known that the bay was Commencement, and that a city was there intended. The two words were put together by some one, perhaps in derision and may be in good faith, and the place was named, temporarily at least; the name being used by all there for several months as that of their local designation. Other places had been named in the same way before. Burlington tried for a number of years to get rid of the name Flint Hills; Sacramento was known for a long time as Sutter's, Sutterville and Sutter's Fort; Oregon City was at first Willamette Falls, and it required considerable effort on the part of Dr. McLoughlin to effect the change, the Oregon Legislature even lending some aid to the opposition. It was the same here as in the other cases referred to. When the town proprietors got ready to plat and start their town they disregarded the name Commencement City and called it Tacoma. McCarver was particularly anxious to have the best name possible, and he thought and talked over the subject frequently. An old acquaintance, Philip Ritz, suggested Tacoma, during and after a visit to the place in September, giving reasons therefor, and urging with such force that he convinced his hearer, and made him see that in every way it was the right name for the place. Upon presenting the matter to Starr and Steel, in October, McCarver obtained their assent, whereupon the question was fully determined, and the town became Tacoma. The sale of lots began immediately after. The land had been surveyed and laid off into streets, lots and blocks, and a rough map prepared of the same, in August, not for official filing, but for use in making sales. The next year, 1869, the surveys were extended, a larger and better map was prepared, and filed for record. For a further and fuller account of the naming of Tacoma, the reader hereof is referred to the chapter entitled "The Early History of Tacoma."

FIVE YEARS, 1868 TO 1873

UNTIL 1873, slow but steady progress was made in the building of the town. In October, 1868, Gen. McCarver induced Samuel Hadlock and John W. Ackerson, two of five Californians united in partnership for the purpose, to locate and build a sawmill at Tacoma, which they did as Hanson, Ackerson & Co. In doing this he was compelled personally to aid in the enterprise, as the mill men demanded more than eighty acres for which they would pay only seven hundred dollars. As Moore and Carr, from whom portions of the land were obtained, would not sell at that rate, but required for their two tracts a little more than ten dollars per acre, McCarver had to make up the difference, which he did by taking $200 for the thirty-eight acres he sold, and letting them have the remainder for their forty-seven. Thus the General was enabled to secure for the town the mill which he had contemplated, and of which he had spoken to Carr the previous April. Following this acquisition came a store, wharf, postoffice, school, roads to the country, and ships and steamers to and from other places. Politics and elections also came, and at one of these, in 1870, the General was made Superintendent of Schools for Pierce County. The town proprietors gave the land for the town school, and they contributed more to its support than any other person or concern. The interest he had exhibited in school matters at Oregon City and Monterey was continued unabated in Tacoma. He served the people as road supervisor and repeatedly as election officer. Though he did not do much in partisan politics, he could not he held back in 1872, when his friend, Judge McFadden, was up for Congress. Then (Oct. 28th), as chairman of the meeting, he made a hot speech for the Judge, who carried Tacoma, Pierce County, and was elected. McCarver was rightly looked to as the moving spirit of the town, and was called upon to guide and assist every undertaking. The idea of the railroad was uppermost in his mind from the beginning. In 1868 he devoted several weeks to securing rights of way for a company that he hoped would build a railroad from Portland. In these papers was made the first public use of the name Tacoma. The road was not built, however, and thenceforth he gave his attention and efforts to what was generally regarded as the greatest of all prizes, the Northern Pacific. In those years the contest was warm and eager between the various Puget Sound points, each alleging, in its own favor, special advantages over the others. The discussion was not confined to the east side, but reached over to the west, and included the islands between, all anxious to secure the approval of the great company, and incidentally that of as many individuals and other companies as possible. This feature of the times was somewhat humorously portrayed by an Olympia poet in the verses following, the four "Mcs" referred to being McFadden, McKenny, McCarver and McNaught:

Hunting the Terminus.

I desire to relate some very queer facts
That happened long since to a quartet of Mcs;
McF. and Mc., McN. and McK.,
And how it occurred was just this way:

These four gentlemen, not strange to relate,
Were engaged down town in railroad debate,
When a stranger stepped in from a stage at the door,
And these were the words—but oh! how he swore:

"I've crossed the great plains, snowed in was my car,
I've braved the great deep, laid off at the Bar,
But, ah! these were trifles—what words can employ
To speak my full mind of your darned corduroy?

"But now that I've come to this great Puget Sound,
The hub of creation the whole world turns round,
Explain to me what's all of this fuss;
Oh, tell me, pray tell me, where's the grand ter-mi-nus?"

Then up rose McF., as he only can rise,
Looked first at the stranger, and then at the skies,
And thus spoke the sage, and his words they were grand:
"The place that you seek is the place where you stand.

"First look at our mudflats, extending so wide;
What millions of clams at each ebb of the tide!
And then, my dear sir, it must not be forgotten
That Olympia is the outlet of all Saunder's Bottom."

Then up jumped McK.—from his pocket he drew
An enormous town plat, which he spread out to view.
"Look, stranger; look at what Nature has done!
Nisqually's the place where the road's sure to run.

"See her two great harbors and long water line!
In this great arrangement there sure was design;
I think it's decreed that this is the spot,
And if you insist I'll part with a lot."

The next man that spoke was old General McC.,
And his words, like Bill Nye's were: "Can these things be?
You cannot imagine how my feelings it harrows
To think of a city this side of the Narrows.

"Tacoma! Tacoma! No name half so sweet;
And as to our anchorage, we've six hundred feet.
Just take my advice, if you're seeking your pile,
Invest at Tacoma, and you're sure to strike ile."

Then up spoke McN.: "He must be an ass
Who can't see the road run through Snoqualmie Pass.
I'll tell you, my friend, at the end of the battle,
The whole thing will center just down at Seattle.

"We've oceans of coal, but we all put our trust,
When it comes to our streets, in Yesler's sawdust;
As a Tyee once said in a way that was savage,
'What excellent soil for the growing of cabbage.'"

Now just at this time up rose a full score,
Each yelled out his place in the wildest uproar;
And I could distinguish in the midst of the fray,
Port Townsend, Holmes Harbor and Bellingham Bay.

Next morning the stage to the southward it bore
The stranger it brought the evening before.
When asked why he left, his reply it was sad:
"I could not remain where a whole town was mad."

Moral.

When a poor, tired stranger drops into your town
I pray, my dear friends, don't all crowd around,
For as sure as you do, so sure he'll cry "damn it,"
And straightway start back to Portland, Wallamet.

In order to make themselves as safe as possible, it was common in those days for men to scatter their interests, "to hedge," as it was called—to own lands at several different eligible points. Gen. McCarver did this in one instance. In conjunction with Elisha P. Ferry and Clinton P. Ferry he bought the Catholic Mission land claim near Olympia, for $5,000. When, in 1871, Olympia was trying to induce the Northern Pacific to enter its limits, a generous subsidy of lands was offered by the people, including 144 lots in Ferry & McCarver's Addition. The offer of the people was accepted by Director Goodwin and Agent Sprague for the Company, but the acceptance later was disregarded and the road not built into the town until nearly twenty years afterward.

McCARVER THE COAL DISCOVERER

GEN. McCARVER rightly looked to coal as one of the greatest elements of wealth among the many resources of Washington. In its quest he made several trips on the Sound and toward the mountains in 1868 and later. Some of these are referred to in the letter excerpts in the earlier pages of this volume. After one of these trips he wrote (Sept. 8th, 1868) to Messrs Starr and Steel as follows:

> Since writing to you last I have made a trip to the coal region which is about twenty or twenty-five miles east of this city, up the Puyallup River and on a dead level the entire distance, except a bench of land half as high as Robinson Hill back of Portland, which, when the top is reached, is a level plateau. This hill extends to the coal, five or six miles distant, in the forks of the river, and where the main fork, on which it is situated, passes through a canyon cut in the sandstone formation. The coal is found just above the river bed, or rather below high water mark. We do not know how thick the vein is, as the debris from above has covered it partly with loose rock and earth, for the removal of which we had no tools. It presented, however, a front of six feet in thickness and fifteen feet in length before being again covered, and as for its quality you can judge for yourselves when you examine it. I pronounce it the best that has ever been discovered on this coast, as far as I have observed, and have no fears that others will not come to a like conclusion. It burns freely, can be lit with a candle, makes no clinkers, and leaves an ash as white as that of wood. The commerce of the world demands its immediate development. It was deposited there in the wisdom of the Almighty to be shipped from this place,

and from none other can it be shipped so cheaply and conveniently. This coal assures our place as the terminus of the great overland railroad. There should be immediate steps taken for the construction of a railroad to bring in this coal. Congress should be asked without delay for a subsidy of every alternate section of public land for five miles on each side of the contemplated road. Its route is over bottom land the entire distance, except where the bluff before mentioned is encountered. This bottom, a small portion of which only overflows in extreme high water, is about three miles wide, and without doubt is the most fertile valley I ever saw. Nothing on this coast is its superior. The settlements extend to within four or five miles of the coal. The rest of the way, until a road is cut, must be traveled through an impenetrable forest on foot, over logs and through brush. This place had never previously been visited by white men, except two men who did not find coal where our party found it, and who were lost and did not even bring in specimens. Coal of an inferior kind had been found for many years previous in the bed of the river, but no person ever knew the size of the vein or the quality of the coal. We have not yet divulged the secret here, or the woods would be alive with men looking for the mines in a few days. I only went as far as the last settlement on the river, where I remained exploring the valley till Howard Carr and D. Caufield returned. They went on foot with blankets and provisions until they found the coal mine, the second day after leaving me. The foot traveling accounts for our having no tools for examining its depth and my going no further at the time. They brought out only a pocket handkerchief full, which Mr. Caufield will show you. Its quality will speak for itself. I saw one of the two men previously spoken of. He said they found coal in five or six places; that is, they saw pieces of coal where trees were blown down, and in ravines, but nowhere saw a lead. Mr. Carr and I will start back in a few days and go up the north fork, where coal is to be found deposited on the bars of the stream, and which comes in below the hill spoken of, and where we hope to find it without climbing the hill, and also nearer the settlements in the valley. We will make our headquarters at the south prairie on the north fork, which is about four miles from the point where we have found the coal, the latter being on the main or middle fork. Between these two is the place where coal was found by the two men. This south prairie is a settlement with several farms on it. It is on the Natches Pass road on the divide between the White and Puyallup valleys. White River runs parallel with Puyallup twenty or thirty miles, from four to six miles distant. The settlers are not only in the bottoms, but also on the divide between. Stuck River, which runs from White to Puyallup through a beautiful valley, enters the latter about ten miles above its mouth. These river bottoms are now peopled by several hundred persons. For fertility they are unsurpassed in the world. The farmers assure me that they usually raise from thirty to forty bushels of wheat to the acre, and sixty to eighty bushels of oats, and the appearance of the shocks indicates their truth. I have never seen such corn, pumpkins and squashes in this country. The orchards, though young yet, are full of fruit. I saw Mr. (L. F.) Thompson's hop field. From two acres of first year's growth he last season sold $500 worth of hops. This year he expects from the same field thirty bales of 200 pounds each, from which he expects to realize $3,000, and from the root prunings $2,000 more. He is now gathering his crop. The poles are twenty-five feet high. It looks like a cartload on each hill. Nowhere else can such hops be produced, and their quality has been proven to be superior to other hops. He wants me to sell them for him in Portland. The natural outlet for these river bottoms is to Commencement City, on a level tract passing over the tide flats from the Indian Agency and striking the main shore on the line between the L. V. Starr claim and my own, and thence along shore to the city. A wharf can be built on the upper end of the claim I now occupy, where there is abundance of water and a good place for shipping coal, etc., without encumbering the front of the city with coal traffic. There is as much good, and a great deal more superior, land on these rivers as there is in the same distance on either side of the Willamette River where railroads are now being constructed, besides the upland or ridge settlements. An immense amount of fine alder, cedar and maple covers the bottoms not now claimed. A railroad could be built in valley in the direction of the coal mines on ground as level as that between Aurora and Salem, and it would be about the same distance to reach the mines. There would be more grubbing here, as the prairie is not quite so large as in Oregon, and there will be the ridge to ascend and descend, provided we are not able to find coal at foot of the hill on our further explorations. You may think light of our coal discovery. If so, I assure you, I do not participate with you. I think it is big, very big, and a clincher for railroad and terminus, whether we develop it or not. Capital will soon open these mines, and their product must be shipped from this place. We should by all means secure this coal for ourselves. I want Mr. Starr to come here at once, and if he can bring with him those capitalists or railroad men now visiting Oregon so much the better. Also send means to me to continue the search for mines in more convenient places. A trail four or five miles long must be opened so that provisions and tools can be taken in. Recollect that these mines, from their nearness to navigation, and their superior quality of coal, with the large-sized lead, are no small affair. Young Caufield will return if he can get proper encouragement. He is very reliable; what he tells you, you can believe. We should take claims and erect cabins on the land. It has not yet been surveyed. We should each have a quarter section, and I will take one apiece for you.

These letters very plainly stamp Gen. McCarver as one of the original discoverers of the coal veins in Pierce County, that have since yielded millions of tons of coal, profiting the people millions of dollars of money, just as he foresaw and foretold at the time of their writing. In bestowing credit for these works Gen. McCarver must not hereafter be left out. On the contrary he should be placed in the front rank; should be regarded as the leader, as he actually was. Messrs. Steel and Starr were either unable or unwilling to comply with his urgent appeals. They had other things at hand to more interest them, and besides, at their distance from the scene, it did not look so attractive. It will be noticed that Gen. McCarver selected for coal wharves the identical place that the Northern Pacific Company subsequently chose, and where for thirty years a vast business has been done in handling, selling and shipping coal. He strongly favored keeping these discoveries quiet, that he and his associates might get some good from them, believing also that they would be able to secure their development at an earlier day in this way. While they did not altogether agree with their venerable, but enthusiastic and excitable partner, as to the policy of suppression of the news, they substantially complied with his suggestion, and nothing was heard of the coal discoveries for a number of years except occasional meager reports, which were usually dismissed at once as unreliable and of no value. It is believed that the following, from the Olympia Tribune of July 17, 1871, is the first publication concerning the coal deposits which have since yielded so enormously in the country draining with the Puyallup River into the bay at Tacoma:

"Puyallup Coal—On Saturday last we were shown several specimens of coal from the Puyallup Valley, in the hands of Gen. M. M. McCarver. The General was on his way to Portland to obtain a chemical analysis of the coal, which bore the appearance of possessing excellent qualities. He informed us that it exists in immense quantities, cropping out on the top and sides of high bluffs on the margin of the Puyallup River, which offers the very best facilities for transporting it cheaply to a shipping point. If it should prove as valuable as it is accessible, it will soon become a mine of immense wealth to the fortunate possessors."

The time had not really come for the beginning of the coal mining industry, but it was not very far off. By 1874 there was considerable talk of the coal there, then sometimes termed the Gale coal, after one of the later explorers and discoverers, and a little of it sold in Tacoma at $20 a ton. McCarver still maintained his interest in it, and in the spring of 1875 quite thoroughly reexamined the region, this being the last trip of his life. His old Oregon friends, J. C. Ainsworth, R. R. Thompson and S. G. Reed, organized the Puyallup Valley Coal Company, probably by McCarver's suggestion, their purpose being to build a railroad to the mines, get out the coal and transport it to Tacoma. In January, 1875, Senator Mitchell introduced a bill in Congress to give their company the necessary right of way, but the Northern Pacific Company concluded that it wanted this trade for itself, and it interposed such obstacles that the Portland men thought it better to drop the undertaking.

NORTHERN PACIFIC TERMINUS AT TACOMA

THE early operations of the Northern Pacific in Washington, or elsewhere either, for that matter, were not conducted on a broad, sensible, business-like plan. There was constant evidence of incapacity, or an inside ring, or both.. More time was taken to begin the road than was taken by other transcontinental companies to begin and finish, and the route and country of the Northern Pacific were the most favorable and the best. On the Pacific Coast it was naturally and properly supposed that the company's north and south line would extend from the city of Portland, probably by way of Vancouver, to some place on Puget Sound, carefully selected and early named. So far from this being done the Company was made by its agents to leave Portland out, to attempt to injure it, if not destroy it, by building a rival town at an unknown point in the woods forty miles down the river. This effort was an entire and wretched failure, for which the Company paid dearly, and from which no one is known to have derived pecuniary benefit. There, nearly seven years after the granting of the charter by Congress, a beginning on a small scale was made in the work of construction, towards the north. By the end of 1871 twenty-five miles of the road were built, and by the end of 1872 sixty-five miles. All this time the Puget Sound end of the road was undetermined. The people were kept in trying suspense, and town was arrayed against town from Olympia to Bellingham. People and capital came from abroad, but in the uncertainty did not remain. The sensible course would seem to have been to have settled this question first of all, and to have started the road at the favored point. Had this been done there is no question that at that point would have sprung up a city that would soon have surpassed any and all others in the North Pacific, and the Company would have honestly made millions instead of nothing as was subsequently the case. It hesitated and vacillated, as the months and years went by, and it treacherously trifled with Olympia, Seattle and other localities. At the expense of many thousands of dollars it was apparently doing the same with Tacoma, as construction of the road was being pushed past the town until July, 1873. The question had been substantially settled the previous fall, when the President, Engineer and Directors were traveling over the Sound on the steamer North Pacific. That was the idea of those on the inside here at home, as the particular friends and agents of those in control had been buying the lands at Tacoma with the understanding that they would be accepted and used by the company for terminal purposes. The session of the Railroad Commission at Steilacoom was a mere blind. Lewis M. Starr, Edwin A. Starr and Edward S. Smith were prominently connected with the effort in behalf of Tacoma, and only a little less conspicuous in it were several of the highest officials of the Northern Pacific Company. General McCarver was the local agent selected for the service contemplated. He bought the Galliher, Judson and other lands, to the aggregate of more than two thousand acres, mostly in 1872, as he thought for the Northern Pacific Company. He was innocent and honest in the matter, and supposed that by his procedure he would be benefiting himself, his family, his town and the company. Not only did he thus contribute his time and his talents, but he also gave his individual land, his claim in the present heart of the city, and other lands that he had bought from time to time during the five years preceding. Just how the Company was approached in the matter is unwritten history, beyond the fact that in the end the Lake Superior and Puget Sound Land Company handled it on the one side, and J. C. Ainsworth and R. D. Rice, Directors and Commissioners of the Railroad Company, handled it on the other side. On the 14th of July, 1873, the latter announced to the world that the Northern Pacific terminus had been located on Commencement Bay. On the 10th of September following the Directors of the Company formally approved this action by officially proclaiming that the western terminus of the road was established "within the limits of the city of Tacoma." McCarver's hopes were now at their highest point. His brightest anticipations had been realized. His predictions were fulfilled. His town, the point he had chosen, the bay and the land he had extolled so highly for years, the Tacoma that he had dreamed of, fought for, cherished and named, was the terminus of the Northern Pacific Company. With his mind's eye he could see, just a little way off, the railroad trains on the front, the great depot, the long piers reaching out to deep water, the brick and stone buildings on Second, Third and Fourth, McCarver, Starr and Steel streets, the wholesale houses, the retail stores, the banks, factories, schools, dwellings, and all the parts going to make up a modern and prosperous city. For himself would be satisfaction and pride for what he had done to accomplish such grand things, and for his family comfort and future advantages to atone for what they might have suffered and lost in the pioneer period in which they had lived. It was a glad day for him, a thrilling one, and one that he was sure would be recorded in history among the memorable occasions of the country and nation. It is painful to think how ungratefully his acts were requited, and how little he lived to see realized of his bright and happy anticipations. It did not occur to him that the railroad men with whom he was dealing and whose enterprise he was richly subsidizing, would use the means he had given them to inflict upon him their hardest blows, that they would endeavor to destrow his town by building a rival town two miles away, by robbing it of its name, by leading its people to their own town, and when they would not go there by starving them out or driving them to other towns, and by the pursuit of these and similar methods ruin him and those with him in the town he had projected and fathered. It was impossible for him in advance to contemplate in those whom he regarded as friends such base ingratitude, such treachery, such falsehood, such heartless conduct as were evinced and exercised for a number of years towards the property owners and people identified with the town established in 1868. It will be better, perhaps, not to enter more fully into recital of the events of that period. It will be enough to say, maybe, that Gen. McCarver felt betrayed; that he was sorely disappointed, and that during the remainder of his life he experienced practically none of the benefits he had so hopefully anticipated from the coming of the Northern Pacific Railroad. It may also be said that his experience was substantially repeated in the cases of the two Starrs—L. M. and E. A., the latter of whom had succeeded James Steel in the town enterprise—who had invested a great deal, and who in return sustained losses only from their land ventures after the coming of the railroad, for which they had worked so diligently and from which they had hoped for so much. E. S. Smith, who had also become interested, had the same unhappy experience—due in each case to the breach of faith and covert hostility of their supposed friends.

ANOTHER LAND CLAIM. THE END COMES

FOR a few weeks after the 14th of July Tacoma was the scene of active operations. Hundreds of men visited and settled in it, and soon many tents and cheap buildings were erected. Had it not been for acts of unpleasant and unfriendly character, hinted at in the previous paragraph, the town would have become one of considerable importance within a short time. As things were, however, it soon reached its zenith, and thereafter slowly dwindled and lessened until it became of little more consequence than it was before the days of the railroad. McCarver was struck quite hard. The moneys he had made at first he put into a wharf, water works and houses, which now were unprofitable. The people he had sold to came to him for relief, and to help them he bought back the lots they had so eagerly purchased. No one wanted his lands. Still, he had not lost faith in the place, though he had in men. He was yet firmly convinced that a large city would be built there, and that land in that city would be valuable and desirable. He resolved to make another effort, notwithstanding his increasing infirmities. Under the generous land laws of the United States he had been entitled at different times to several claims and had used his rights as heretofore related. He had one remaining—his right to a preemption. He knew of a piece of land to the south, half way between the Sound and the prairie, and there he built his cabin and established his claim. A man named Coulter settled upon the same tract and a contest ensued, in which Coulter was worsted, and the land awarded to McCarver by the Federal Government. This was another of the many acts that go to show his thoughtful regard for his family, for those dependent upon him. Under the prevailing circumstances, it was unlikely that he would ever get a dollar of money or any good from this claim. It might, though, be of help and benefit to those he would soon leave.

Disregarding his enfeebled condition, resulting from the extraordinary strain of the previous two years, and hoping to do something more for Tacoma while he was yet able, Gen. McCarver, in March, 1875, again saddled his horse for a trip to the coal mines of the upper Puyallup valley. Argument and entreaty had no effect in inducing him either to desist from the attempt or delay it. He straightened up and declared that he was strong and well, and that instead of hurting him he would be better for the trip. It was important also that he should go. He wanted to know more about the coal veins; they ought to be opened for trade; possibly he would take a claim; there was no other chance equal to that afforded by these discoveries; later they would all be glad that he had gone. He rode out, through the settlements, into the rough, unpopulated district beyond. He told the younger and hardier men that he was accustomed to the rain, mud and cold; he could camp as well as they; older men than he had done such things before; he would stand his share and do his part with the rest. They were pleased to see his spirit, and they smiled at him, and were glad to have his company. They eased it for him in many ways, usually without his knowledge, and all were willing that he should have first and best. Notwithstanding the kindnesses received by him, it was a hard trip, and when he again was at home it was plain that he had not been benefited by it. He was more feeble, and when he went to bed it was for the last time. Day by day he was weaker, and he and those around him became conscious that the end was near at hand. He bore up with the utmost fortitude. Not a word escaped him to indicate that he was not ready to undertake that long journey imposed upon us each and all. His senses were keen to the last. After 1 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, April 17th, he called for the reading to him of the Tacoma paper, the Tribune. The paragraphs relating to coal and the railroads were especially interesting to him. He spoke of them, he rested a few minutes, and then he was gone.

AT REST IN GRAVE OF HIS OWN CHOOSING

NOT long before his death Gen. McCarver had selected and recommended a tract of land five miles from town for a public cemetery. This land was obtained, and has since been in use for the purpose he suggested. His body was that of the first adult buried within it. His departure was greatly mourned in Tacoma; the entire populace having for him the utmost respect; "the old General," as he was affectionately termed, being regarded not only as the father of the town, but in a sentimental sense as the father of the people as well. He seemed older than he was, as he had been doing for himself so many years, more than half a century, and had figured so actively and prominently in the affairs of the great West from the earliest days of at least six of its States. At the time of his death his age was 68 years, 3 months and 3 days. A wife, a son, four daughters and twelve grandchildren were left as a heritage a long record of good deeds and a memory to cherish among the brightest and best of the pioneers of the Pacific Coast.

Julia Ann McCarver

UNIV. OF MICH.

The Life of
Julia A. McCarver

THE LIFE OF JULIA A. McCARVER

HER BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

JULIA ANN McCOY was born in St. Charles County, Missouri, on the 19th of November, 1825. Her parents were James and Polly Cannon McCoy, farmers. They died before she was three years old, and she and a younger sister, Rebecca, were reared by their grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. James Cannon. The children had the ordinary life of the country at that time; receiving instruction in the domestic arts, going to school, and being made useful and prepared for being more useful in the years to come. The grandparents looked carefully after the children's property rights, and many years after the deaths of the McCoys a handsome sum of money was sent to Julia, in Oregon, by her grandfather, as her share of the McCoy estate.

MARRIED AND GOES TO OREGON

ON the 25th of April, 1839, before she was fourteen years of age, the subject of this sketch was married to Garret Buckalew, and with him moved over to Illinois, where they lived until 1847. The Oregon fever raged strongly that spring, the westward movement then exceeding that of any previous year. The Buckalews yielded to it, with about three thousand others. From their locality went sixteen families, including Mr. and Mrs. Buckalew and their two children. At St. Joseph, Missouri, they found a host of others, all bound for the Pacific, with ninety wagons and hundreds of horses, mules and oxen. Joel Palmer, who had been in Oregon before, and who was then East for his family, and who later became one of the leading citizens of the country to which they were bound, was selected for guide. The road was well marked, but the services of so experienced and able a man as Palmer were of great value to the company in many ways. As was the case with all large companies of immigrants, they found, after traveling a few hundred miles, that it was better to break into smaller parties. Though they were more or less alarmed at times, they had no trouble with Indians, cholera, or anything else, nothing more than they had reason to expect in so long and trying a journey.

WIDOWED AND AGAIN MARRIED

JUST as they got to Barlow Pass, in the Cascade Mountains, Mr. Buckalew took a severe cold, which settled on his lungs, and from which he died on October 18th, a few days after his arrival in Oregon. Their youngest child died on the plains. On account of her husband's illness, Mrs. Buckalew had to stay for a time near the Cascades with some people who had settled there. Later she went on to the Willamette valley with her remaining child, making her home with the family of Rev. Philip Foster near Oregon City. The distressful condition of the young widow may well be imagined. She was far from home, in a strange country, surrounded by conditions entirely different from anything to which she had been accustomed. She was also in bereavement, with a daughter only five years of age to care for and further embarrass her. Under all the circumstances it is not surprising that, when one the leading citizens presented himself—a man strong, active, honored and well-to-do—she received his advances without unnecessary diffidence. Nor was there prolonged delay for no good purpose. On the 20th of January, 1848, she was married to Morton M. McCarver, by the Rev. Mr. Foster, at the home of the latter. It is somewhat strange to relate, but is nevertheless true, that it was letters from McCarver, in Oregon, published in the Eastern papers, that induced the Buckalews to go to the Pacific. With commendable spirit, Mrs. McCarver at once entered upon the duties of her new position in life, on the farm, in the family and socially. In the latter direction her inclinations were shown by her joining the "Washingtonians," Oregon's first temperance society, maintained in 1847, '48 and '49, with three hundred pledgers, including such noted people as the Meeks, McLoughlins, Abernethys, Lovejoys, Atkinsons, Crosby, Price, Thornton, Knighton, Hood, Hedges, Gray, Barlow, Lancaster, Whitman, Walker, T'Vault, Pettygrove, Barnes, Douglas, White, Pambrun, Beverly, Crawford, Dement, Beers, Thurston, Walling, Whitcomb, Roberts, Wait, Leslie, Magruder, Couch, Coffin and others, individually, and in some cases by whole families.

FOLLOWS HUSBAND TO CALIFORNIA

GEN. McCARVER, as he was commonly known, had a fine farm near Oregon City of 640 acres. He was diligently cultivating it, growing fruit, grain, hay, vegetables and stock. It was already a noted place, and became even more so as the years went on. Just at this time, however, came interruptions in the domestic life and operation of the farm of serious character. The war with the Cayuse Indians called the General into the councils and services of the people, and took months of time that could have been most profitably employed at home. About the middle of the year, and just as things were again getting in shape, there came reports of the discovery of gold in California, followed by other reports confirming the first ones, and adding to them intelligence of a most exciting nature. The farmers of Oregon, the townspeople, Hudson Bay men, all, were taken with gold mining fever. Preparations were instantly made for going overland, and among the first to set off was McCarver. He did so well that after a few months he sent for his wife, directing her to put his son in a boarding school at Salem and his daughter and her daughter in the school for girls at Oregon City, then kept by Mrs. J. Quinn Thornton, and which was patronized by James Douglas, Chief Factor at Vancouver, and other prominent people of Columbia and Willamette valleys. Mrs. McCarver had already left the farm, and was staying at the Thornton home. She was to go by ship. Vessels in those days were all of sail, and few in number. It was not uncommon for them to take passengers to San Francisco, charging people $30 for the trip, on deck, each person supplying his own provisions. Passengers were allowed to take a limited quantity of freight, in barrels, at $5 a barrel. Cabin passengers to Honolulu and elsewhere were charged a passage rate and in addition $3 a day for maintenance. May 16th, 1849, she started down the river with a number of other people, including the family of Peter H. Burnett, in open boats, bound for California. At the Abernethy mill, at Oak Point, on the Columbia, was the vessel, loading with lumber, upon which they were to take passage. After a short and not unpleasant run of three days from the mouth of the river they arrived at their journey's end. San Francisco was then a town of only one or two thousand inhabitants, but it was already feeling the quickening impulse of the gold discoveries and mining operations. Among numerous other ways, this was evidenced in the one small hotel of the town, where Gen. McCarver and wife remained for two months, paying $21 each per week for board and sleeping on the floor under the dining room table. In the meantime the General had bought lumber in Oregon, which he had shipped on a vessel that he had recently purchased, and which he had carried by the same craft to Sacramento, where they were to live.

LONG AND PERILOUS JOURNEY BACK TO OREGON

MRS. McCARVER found life in California not to her liking. It was extraordinary in character, so exciting, so different from anything before seen or heard of, so unlike her own quiet, unobtrusive, retiring nature, that she wanted to get away from it. Further, the children at home pulled hard on her heart strings. When she could stand it no longer, she told her husband of her thoughts, desires and agitated condition of mind. He sympathized with her, and also had feelings concerning the children similar to her own. Arrangements were soon made for her departure. November 12th she sailed on the bark John W. Cater, commanded by Capt. William Irving. The voyage up the coast was a stormy one, and the thirty passengers on board were considerably shaken up and alarmed. The vessel was partially disabled. She was also unable to enter the Columbia River. After repeated efforts there the Captain headed for the Strait of Fuca, and soon was at Fort Victoria, the post of the Hudson Bay Company, where she underwent repairs preparatory to the making of another effort to complete the trip she had begun when leaving San Francisco. Some of the passengers stayed by the vessel, but eighteen had had enough of her and "life on the ocean wave." They arranged to go in canoes to Fort Nisqually, and thence on horseback to "the Cowlitz Farm," as the station of the Hudson Bay or Puget Sound Agricultural Company was known. Mrs. McCarver was one of this number, the only woman of the party. They tried to persuade her to ride astride the horse, as the Indian women did, but she would not be persuaded and had her own way in the matter. At the Farm they again got in canoes, and were paddled by Indians to Oregon City, then the largest town in Oregon. They arrived there early in December. It was fortunate for her that she came when she did, as about that time Sacramento was visited by the greatest, most prolonged and destructive flood in the history of the place before or since, the McCarver house with most of the other houses being washed away and entirely lost.

NINE YEARS ON THE FARM

THE General himself returned from California the following year, and they resumed their life on the farm. This was made very productive and quite profitable. Other children came to them, five daughters, three on the farm and two elsewhere, of whom but two at this writing (1905) are living, Mrs. Virginia McCarver Prosch, of Seattle, and Mrs. Elizabeth Morton Harris, of Tacoma. The husband and father was away much of the time, engaged in steamboating on Willamette River, giving the Territory of Oregon military service in the Indian war of 1855-'56, and in 1857 being in the Eastern States for a prolonged period. Life on the farm was alternately dull and exciting. The men, during the war time, were away, and the women were afraid even of the comparatively few Indians then in the Willamette valley. On the 26th, 27th and 28th of March, 1856, occurred the most serious affair in the struggle of that year. The Yakimas and Klickitats, aided by some of the river Indians, then attacked The Cascades, on the Columbia, in Washington Territory. The settlers were driven in and the steamboats driven away. Shooting between the savages and whites was carried on intermittingly, the white men and women holding out bravely in the constant hope that soldiers would soon come on the two steamers that had escaped. The first to arrive were forty in number under Lieut. Philip Sheridan, who then had his first taste of battle, and who afterwards so distinguished himself in the war between the States that he became Lieutenant General and commander of the army, after Grant and Sherman. Col. E. J. Steptoe arrived with more forces, and the Indians were driven away with considerable losses. In this attack seventeen whites were killed and eleven wounded. Col. George Wright was soon on the ground. He gave immediate trial to captured Indians, nine of whom were convicted and shot at once. This Cascades attack so alarmed the people in the valley below that Mrs. McCarver and the other women in the neighborhood got their children and personal effects together as quickly as they could, and, for protection, either assembled on farms in large groups or moved into Oregon City. The failure of the Indians at the Cascades and on Puget Sound, and the increasing military force placed in the field by the General Government, put an end to war operations west of the mountains about this time, and things on the farms and in the settlements speedily resumed their normal condition. Upon the return of Gen. McCarver from the East he sold a part of his farm, and in 1858 they moved to Portland, where they had their home for a number of years on the corner of Second and Morrison streets.

LIFE IN PORTLAND AND IDAHO

IN 1863 Mrs. McCarver and her two youngest children went to Idaho, a third child being left in boarding school at Milwaukie. The party went by boat to Umatilla. There her husband had a four-horse wagon, in which, with four others, the whole party of eight set out. They went through Grand Ronde valley, over the Blue Mountains, and across Snake, Weiser and Payette rivers, to Placerville. From there they went to Idaho City by stage coach. While it was a pretty hard trip, or would be considered so in these days, it was one of ease and comfort compared with the one she had made through the same region sixteen years before. Gen. McCarver, with men named Clark and Townsend, was carrying on a store there and doing a large business. After a year and a half he took his family back to Portland, where the wife and youngest child lived in a boarding house, the two oldest children being sent away to school, and he went to New York. Mrs. McCarver bought a couple of lots, to make upon them a home, but the family was so unsettled for several years that she had no permanent home until her removal to Tacoma in 1869.

A TRIP TO PUGET SOUND

IN JULY, 1868, Gen. McCarver having taken a claim on the south shore of Commencement Bay, Puget Sound, the family came from Portland to live upon it for three months. The father, mother and three daughters came down the Columbia to Monticello on steamboat, then up the Cowlitz River to Pumphrey's Landing in a canoe, from which point they completed the trip by wagon to the Galliher mill, two miles from their destination, being several days on the way, farmers on the road supplying them with food and places to sleep. At the mill they occupied the home of Mr. Frank Spinning for the night; the next morning they going in the Anthony Carr canoe to the land claim selected by the General, who had hurried on in advance and made arrangements for their care, convenience and comfort. The change from the tiresome and dusty road to the clear, clean water of the Sound was peculiarly grateful to the travelers, while the light summer breeze, with its sea-laden air, was delightfully refreshing, and to the children something before entirely unknown.

THREE MONTHS ON THE SEASHORE

LUMBER being obtained from the Galliher mill, a couple of hired men soon had the house ready for occupancy, on a piece of low ground near the Sound at about where North Second street now is. Land there had been cleared, and vegetable seeds planted, from which abundant returns were soon received. The summer passed pleasantly. There were, for diversoin, boating on the bay, fishing, berry picking, visits to other new settlers and visits in return, frequent trips to the Indian reservation, three days with their old Oregon friends, the Westons, at Byrd's mill, and some little excitements, as the survey of the townsite, the coming of the mill men, the dropping in on them of unexpected guests, and the bright anticipations of the future. Their claim had been heavily timbered, but the roads of loggers made getting about quite easy. The smelt that summer came in schools of millions, upon the beach, and were taken alive by hand. The Indians were a source of much interest and a bit of alarm. They evidently were doubtful of the desirability to themselves of many white people near by. At times they seemed agitated and morose. The reservation officials would tell them then that they had nothing to complain of; that they had arranged to keep the lands that best suited them, and had sold the others to the white men, and that the white men, of course, had a right to occupy these lands now belonging to them. The facts so stated, and the logic, were too much for the red men, and they were always overcome and quieted by this presentation. Much interest was felt by the mother and daughters in their future home, as it was understood they were the next year to live in the town the husband and father had projected and was then preparing for occupancy. Their home site was a matter of frequent discussion, and its selection most carefully made. In October the family returned to Portland by the route they had come, there to spend the winter, intending to remove to Puget Sound early in 1869.

A NEW HOME AT TACOMA

ON the 14th of March following Mrs. McCarver and her daughters left Portland on the steamer Gussie Telfair, then commanded by Capt. Scholl, with J. P. Goodhue as Purser. After a three-days' trip, with calls at Victoria, Port Townsend and Seattle, they arrived at Tacoma, and were landed on the beach with their household goods and materials for the new dwelling they were to build. A log house had been erected for their temporary occupancy, in which they remained until, in the ensuing autumn, their new house was completed. They found that five months had made quite a difference in the place. Mr. Hadlock, the resident partner, had the new sawmill well advanced, and a number of other structures completed and occupied. One of the most important of these was filled with general merchandise, affording the people a convenience prior to that time denied them. Nash had a stage line to Steilacoom and Olympia, and the Steeles were ready to entertain people at Tacoma's first hotel. Steilacoom was still the place for receiving and sending mail, but Job Carr the next week opened the postoffice. Gen. McCarver was quite active in attending to visitors, showing the lots, advising and helping the newly come people, and seeing that his own residence was constructed in satisfactory manner. The house stands yet, as built in 1869, on Twenty-eighth and McCarver streets. The coming of the Gussie Telfair was in itself quite an event, she being the first steamship, though a small one, of 400 tons only, to ruffle the waters of the bay in front of the town; and there having been only two or three small ocean-going sail vessels in all the years before.

Second Street, Now Thirtieth, Tacoma, in 1871.

INCIDENTS OF THE TOWN'S FIRST YEAR

THAT things then were quite primitive may be inferred from this statement, and that they were little better elsewhere on Puget Sound was illustrated by the arrival soon after of Henry A. Webster, then Indian agent at Neah Bay, who stopped at Tacoma on his way to Olympia, in a large canoe, sailed when the wind favored, but at other times paddled by six or eight Indians, the trip being one of four hundred miles up and back, and requiring for its making fully two weeks of time. The Indians on the bay that summer were in an almost constant condition of perturbation. The old fear of the British Columbia and Alaska Indians showed itself very plainly. There had been enmity for ages between the Puget Sound tribes and those of the far North, the latter making occasional piratical forays that kept the Clallams, the Skagits, Duwamishes and Puyallups in fear and trouble until a quite recent day. Tradition has it that about 1825 Chief Kitsap got together the Puget Sounders from Budd's Inlet to the Strait of Fuca, and with a fleet of a hundred canoes filled with fighting men went north and met their approaching enemies in battle on the water. He overcame them with great slaughter and no quarter, but lost in this terrible naval encounter forty of his own vessels and two hundred or more of his strongest braves. Why the Puyallups were so apprehensive in 1869 when, as a matter of fact, all danger from that source was past, is not known. During the day they were full of courage, but in the evening they would slink off into the woods, to the most difficult and impenetrable places, and sleep. The same Indians were also much disturbed that year by the attempted seizure of their reservation lands by white men, who had the mistaken idea that the reservation had not been legally established, and that the lands comprising it were subject to public entry. The Indians were highly wrought up over this affair; they looked angry, and made long and loud speeches, somewhat alarming the handful of white people then engaged in the beginnings of a new town. This trouble was one of but a few days, however, as the white intruders were soon convinced of their error, and relinquished their wrongful efforts. The relations of the McCarver family with the Indians were entirely pleasant. The General was regarded by them as a tyee, or chief, and was accorded the utmost respect. The knowledge they accidentally obtained of his ability to take out and put back his teeth, a feat they had never before seen or heard of, made a marked impression upon them, and visibly increased the awe in which he was held. Stanup seemed to feel honored in having so distinguished a patron for his potatoes, turnips, peas, and other vegetables. Boston, Sitwell, Spot, all knew him well, and frequently dealt with him. Shotmouth Charley, so named on account of a bullet that had gone through his mouth and lessened his good looks, was another family friend. Joe Yall, whose father was French and his mother a Puyallup, drove the team that carried Mrs. McCarver and her daughters to the Columbia River in the fall of 1868, his wife, Katie, long serving the family as washerwoman. One day Boston called at the house, his klootchman with him. He inquired the given name of Mrs. McCarver, and, when told, asked if she were willing to give it to his wife. Upon being answered affirmatively he was much pleased, as was also his wife, who from that time on was Julia. Perhaps the most faithful and devoted of all these Indians, though, was one nicknamed "Monkey," on account of his facial resemblance to that animal. This Indian had been to San Francisco and had seen monkeys, and was far from flattered by the application of the new name, which he unsuccessfully tried to shake off. When he first came to the house he told them that he was the fishman, and he was plainly rejoiced when they called him "Fishman" instead of the odious and detested "Monkey." Thereafter he saw that the family were supplied with fish, snipe and such things in his line as often as they wanted, at the lowest prices and in his most agreeable manner. He also used his traffic with the McCarvers as an advertisement and recommendation in pushing sales to other families, invariably telling them that General and Mrs. McCarver bought their fish from him. While Tacoma then was a hard place for a family like hers, compared with Portland whence they came, it was no worse than other places Mrs. McCarver had lived in, and life there at the worst would be only one more of her numerous pioneer and frontier experiences. She promptly resolved to make the best of it, to be cheerful and uncomplaining, and to live on in the hope that her husband's glowing anticipations for the future would be at least partially realized. The future justified this hope, but he did not live long enough to witness more than a small fraction of the things he contemplated and worked for come to the place upon which his mind and heart were so devotedly set.

To the impatient ones at the time things seemed to come slowly to Tacoma, but in these later years there appears to have been a constant procession of events in natural sequence that served to develop and build up the town quite as rapidly and satisfactorily as like towns on the Sound before it had been built. With the completion of the mill came ship after ship for lumber—the Samoset, Free Trade, Margaret Johnson, Norway and others. Simultaneously with the sail vessels came steamers, tug boats, freight and passenger craft and mail carriers. A public school was opened, and religious services were held with increasing frequency. Ministers came from Seattle, Steilacoom, Olympia and Portland, and in the earlier years made it a rule to accept the hospitality of General and Mrs. McCarver. Among these men were Messrs. George H. Greer, I. D. Driver, J. F. Devore, S. H. Mann, John R. Thompson, George F. Whitworth, George W. Sloan, George H. Atkinson, Benjamin Wistar Morris, Myron Eells, John F. Damon, Peter E. Hyland, T. J. Weekes, Cowles, Patterson, Fisher, Abel, Hoxie, Rosenberg, and others. There were also voters enough in 1869 and 1870 to justify an election precinct, which in turn gave life and interest to the place. With the completion of the wharf and the coming of steamers it became possible for the townspeople to come and go without recourse to canoes, row and sail boats. The entire family of Gen. McCarver, in 1870, took advantage of this increase of transportation facilities to attend the Fourth of July celebration in Seattle, upon which occasion an old Oregon friend, Judge Jacobs, delivered the oration. During the several days they were in Seattle they were pleasantly received and entertained by the Denny, Terry, Shorey, Kellogg, Hyde and Brown families. The year before several members of the family were

The McCarver Home, on the Edge of Dense Timber, in 1872.

at the celebration in Olympia, when a rising young Oregonian, John H. Mitchell, served as orator. For several years after the new house was built it seemed as if it were a long way out, being two hundred yards from the bay and on the edge of dense timber. At first there was only a trail, but in due time a way for wagons was made past the house into the country beyond. What was in the woods in the way of game Mrs. McCarver and her daughters did not investigate. There may have been deers, bears and panthers in plenty, and probably were, but they did not care to know it. They were compelled to know, however, of the presence in large numbers of skunks. These wretched creatures visited them continually, and, though not welcome, were allowed to come and go unmolested. Not content with things in the chickencoop, they many times got into the family wood house, on the porches, boldly prowled around the yard, and would not have hesitated to enter the family apartments had not the doors been closed against them. The increasing population caused the gradual disappearance of these animals, as well as of the mosquitoes, another pest of the earlier days. Fruit trees and a garden added to the attractions of the home, which for many years was noted as the finest and best in the town. For this reason people were con-

Mrs. McCarver's Home During the Later Years of Her Life.

tinually seeking opportunity to get board and rooms with the family, and at times it was impossible to resist their appeals. Many visitors also came to them from abroad, the care of whom was quite agreeable to Mrs. McCarver, whose sense of gratitude for like favors she and hers had received was very keen.

WIDOWED THE SECOND TIME

THE death of the General in 1875 made Mrs. McCarver a widow for the second time. The circumstances were in at least one respect quite trying. While he left much property, a very comfortable home, and no debts, he also left a somewhat complicated estate for an inexperienced person to handle in a period of financial depression that was quite prolonged. The husband had made every reasonable effort to provide for the family in just such an emergency. He had built several houses to rent, and he was a large stockholder in a number of companies that he hoped would prove income paying. His lots and acres were ready for immediate sale or lease. He was hopeful in disposition, and especially sanguine as to his own ventures. He had accomplished what he had for years regarded as the most desirable thing possible —inducement of the Northern Pacific Company to locate its terminus upon or adjoining his townsite. His calculations, however, while apparently well based, had no reference to circumstances and future conditions that no one at the time could foresee. He had no idea of the impending financial crisis, and the resulting failures, in 1873, of the great bankers and railroad companies supposed to be possessed of untold and unending wealth, nor of the slough of despond in which the nation was to wallow during the years following. Even if he had had such foresight, he could not have prevented or averted the disaster, and he could only in a measure lessen its force by preparations and precautions of ordinary prudence. These he availed of to the utmost. What further he might have done had he lived cannot now be said, but it is known what his widow did. By carefully guarding her resources, living economically, saving here and there, and making an occasional small sale, she was enabled to keep the estate practically intact until, in the improvement of the times following a long term of years, it became worth something substantial to the family. In this she was greatly assisted by her attorney, Frank Clark, the pioneer lawyer of Pierce County.

USEFUL AND PEACEFUL WERE HER LAST DAYS

MRS. McCARVER spent the remaining years of her life in Tacoma, engaged chiefly in the ordinary domestic and family affairs incident to her situation. Two of her daughters married, making changes at the time of serious moment. The only other child remaining died in 1892. The coming of grandchildren, of course, greatly interested her. She made occasional trips by rail and steamer that must have seemed to her in strange contrast to the trips of former years by ox teams, on horse, in canoes, sail vessels and otherwise. She built a three-story brick business house on Pacific Avenue, which unfortunately she lost in the hard times following the financial crash of 1893. In a quiet, unostentatious way she did much in charity, and to her neighbors and friends was noted for her thoughtfulness and goodness. In her young days she became a Baptist, and was one of the members of the First Church of Portland, when Mr. Cornelius was pastor, and while Josiah Failing and family, D. N. Williams, Miss Ruth Hawkins, Jos. N. and Cyrus Dolph, W. Lair Hill, the Westons, Bills's, Whites and other pioneers were among its faithful and staunch supporters. There being no church of that denomination in Tacoma until some years after the Congregationalists were in the field, she transferred her church membership to the latter, belonging to the Atkinson Memorial Church, named after Rev. Geo. H. Atkinson, whom Mrs. McCarver had known since his coming to Oregon City in 1848, and who, as Superintendent of the American Home Missionary Society for Oregon and Washington, formally occupied the field at Tacoma in August, 1873, at first preaching in the school house, afterwards in a tent, and still later in a hotel and a public hall. The organization ultimately became what is now the First Congregational Church. In religion she was tolerant of the views of others, and did not object to her own children connecting themselves with another denomination. The growth of the city was a source of quiet but constant gratification to her. When she went to Tacoma there was but one family permanently domiciled there, or four persons only who then by fixed residence and property attachment considered the place their home. Her life there stretched over a period of twenty-eight years. The changes were remarkable. The wild, wooded hills became the homes of thousands of people; the shore was lined with mills and wharves; railroads led in all directions; churches, schools and parks appeared everywhere, and all around her were civilization and comfort such as she had not anticipated and such as could not be found in any community in the world in the days of her youth.

CONCLUSION OF A CHRISTIAN LIFE

AS NATURE intended, she gradually wore out. Never robust, she became more frail with advancing years. Her weakness was wholly physical, not mental. She preserved her senses unimpaired and faculties complete to the end. She passed away peacefully at home, on the 14th of May, 1897, aged 71 years, 5 months and 25 days. It was merely a matter of transition to her, from one beautiful world to another more beautiful world, from a circle of earthly friends to one of heavenly friends.

The Early History of Tacoma

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TACOMA*

VANCOUVER ON PUGET SOUND

THE earliest knowledge the civilized world had of the harbor and vicinity of the present city of Tacoma came from Captain George Vancouver, who was here on an exploring expedition for the British Government in 1792. He had two vessels, the Discovery, upon which he sailed, and the Chatham, commanded by Lieutenant W. R. Broughton. They quite thoroughly explored the waters of the North Pacific Coast, and mapped and described them and the lands so completely that their charts and directions are sufficient to-day to enable the ordinary navigator to safely guide his ship to any port or through any channel from the Columbia River to Alaska.

The expedition entered the Strait of Fuca in the early part of May, and after a few weeks there, on Hood's Canal, Admiralty Inlet and about Port Orchard, Vancouver left the vessels for a few days' trip to the south. He describes the passage up the east shore as follows:

> "On Saturday morning, May 26th, accompanied by Mr. Baker in the yawl, and favored by pleasant weather and a fine northwardly gale, we departed and made considerable progress. Leaving to the right the opening which had been the object of Mr. Puget and Mr. Whidby's expedition, we directed our route along the western shore of the main inlet, which is about a league in width; and as we proceeded the smoke of several fires was seen on the eastern shore. When about four leagues in a southerly direction from the ships, we found the course of the inlet take a southwesterly direction, which we pursued about six miles, with some little increase in width. Towards noon we landed on a point on the eastern shore whose latitude I observed to be 47 degrees 21 minutes, round

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*An address by Thomas W. Prosch to the Association of Pierce County Pioneers at Tacoma, April 12th, 1905.

which we flattered ourselves we should find the inlet take an extensive easterly course. This conjecture was supported by the appearance of a very abrupt division in the snowy range of mountains immediately to the south of Mount Rainier, which was very conspicuous from the ship, and the main arm of the inlet appearing to stretch in that direction from the point we were then upon. We here dined, and although our repast was soon concluded, the delay was irksome, as we were exceedingly anxious to ascertain the truth, of which we were not long held in suspense, for having passed round the point we found the inlet to terminate here in an extensive, circular, compact bay, whose waters washed the base of Mount Rainier, though its elevated summit was yet at a very considerable distance from the shore, with which it was connected by several ridges of hills rising towards it with gradual ascent and much regularity. The forest trees and the several shades of verdure that covered the hills gradually decreased in point of beauty, until they became invisible, when the perpetual covering of snow commenced, which seemed to form a horizontal line from north to south, along this range of rugged mountains, from whose summit Mount Rainier rose conspicuously, and seemed as much elevated above them as they were above the level of the sea, the whole producing a most grand, picturesque effect."

Vancouver was so excited, so impressed with the magnificent view before him, that he overlooked the opportunity to bestow upon the "extensive, circular, compact bay" the name of some officer of the royal navy. This was a rare failure on his part, for he always seemed to have with him a navy register in which were names that he considered peculiarly adapted to the islands, mountains, points and waterways that he discovered. Some of these were bestowed more than once, as is evidenced in Mount Hood and Hood's Canal, Puget Sound and Puget Island. He in nowise hesitated about displacing names previously given by Spanish explorers, substituting those of his own countrymen instead. His astonishing omission in this instance accounts for the fact that this city to-day does not front upon a bay bearing the name Drake, Baker, Rainier, or some other of the same kind.

The pioneers of Puget Sound have vivid recollections of the manner in which the natives in early days stood around and watched picnic parties. They always seemed to be hungry, and were ever ready for a cultus potlatch of mukamuk—a free meal. Vancouver found them the same in his day. At the dinner on Brown's Point referred to, they were present, on which occasion he had the experience here described:

> "About a dozen of these friendly people had attended our dinner, one part of which was a venison pasty. Two of them expressing a desire to pass the line of separation drawn between us, were permitted to do so. They sat down by us and ate of the bread and fish that we gave them without the least hesitation; but on being offered some of the venison, though they saw us eat it with great relish, they could not be induced to taste it. They received it from us with great disgust, and presented it around to the rest of the party, by whom it underwent a very strict examination. Their conduct on this occasion left no doubt in our minds that they believed it to be human flesh, an impression which it was highly expedient should be done away with. To satisfy them it was the flesh of the deer, we pointed to the skins of the animal they had about them. In reply to this they pointed to each other, and made signs that could not be misunderstood that it was the flesh of human beings, and threw it down in the dirt, with gestures of great aversion and displeasure. At length we happily convinced them of their mistake by showing them a haunch we had in the boat, by which means they were undeceived, and some of them ate of the remainder of the pie with good appetite.
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> "The Indians of this neighborhood," Vancouver remarked, "are not free from the general failing attendant on a savage life. One of them having taken a knife and fork to imitate our manner of eating, found means to secrete them under his garment, but on his being detected gave up his plunder with the utmost good humor and unconcern.
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> "They accompanied us from three or four miserable huts near the place where we had dined for about four miles, during which time they exchanged the only things they had to dispose of, their bows, arrows and spears, in the most fair and honest manner, for hawks' bells, buttons, beads, and such useless commodities."

The white men were going to the south a few leagues. The natives, by profuse gesticulatory explanations, tried to describe the region to them. Vancouver had no confidence in them, as is shown by the remark he makes upon the efforts of the Indians to enlighten and direct him:

"The little respect which most Indians bear to the truth, and their readiness to assert what they think is most agreeable for the moment, or to answer their own particular wishes and inclinations, induced me to place little dependence on this information, although they could have no motive for deceiving us."

The white men and Indians parted near Point Defiance. After skirting along the eastern shore to the vicinity of Steilacoom, Nisqually and beyond, Vancouver returned to his ships by the passage west of Vashon Island.

About forty years afterwards the Hudson Bay Company established a post at Nisqually. It is possible and probable that some of its men and one or more of its vessels were here not long after. It is not unlikely, also, that one or two of the early Methodist and Catholic missionaries visited the bay during the earlier 40's.

THE NAMING OF COMMENCEMENT BAY

IT IS known positively, however, that the United States exploring expedition under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, which left our own Atlantic Coast in August, 1838, and which had spent nearly three years in Antarctic and South Pacific waters, was here in 1841. The six vessels that started had been reduced to three, and one of the three, the Peacock, was lost on the Columbia River bar. The two remaining were the Vincennes, under Wilkes himself, and the Porpoise, under Lieutenant Cadwalader Ringgold. Having entered the Sound, the two vessels slowly proceeded toward the only settlement of whites in all this region—the Hudson Bay post of Fort Nisqually and the American Methodist Church mission at the same place. On the 10th of May, 1841, Wilkes anchored at Point Defiance, as he described it, "within a few yards of the shore and under a high perpendicular bank, in sixteen fathoms. The shores of all these inlets and bays," he further reported, "are remarkably bold—so much so that in many places a ship's side would strike the shore before the keel would touch the ground."

After a few days at Nisqually, Wilkes set his vessels and crews at work on the surveys they came to make. To Lieutenant Ringgold, with the Porpoise, was assigned the eastern shore of the Sound, beginning at Point Defiance and extending north. The official report says:

> "On the 15th of May, 1841, the Porpoise left Nisqually and anchored the first night near the point where the surveys were to begin, but outside of the Narrows.
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> "The first bay at the bottom of Admiralty Sound was named Commencement Bay. Into this the Puyallup, a small river, falls. Commencement Bay affords anchorage, and a supply of wood and water may be obtained. The Puyallup forms a delta, and none of the branches into which it is divided are large enough for the entrance of a boat. The Indians were at this season of the year to be found on almost all of the points, and were the same filthy creatures that have been before described."

Though no reason is directly assigned for the name, it is plain from the text that the bay was called Commencement on account of its being the place of beginning for Lieutenant Ringgold's surveys. The reason at that time was sufficient, but it is so no longer. With a great and growing city fronting upon it and encircling it more and more, it should be, and it will be in time, Tacoma Bay or Harbor.

Wilkes was scrupulously regardful of the names given by Vancouver. They appear upon his chart and in his written report. In one respect he was much less careful than the Englishman who had preceded him. Vancouver invariably stated in explicit terms the name he gave and after what individual he gave it. Wilkes did not do this. He gave in his report a list of all the men engaged with him in the expedition, and it is only from this list and the names that are attached to the geographic localities that those he gave may be determined. In this way it is known that Robinson and Brown Points and Maury Island got their names from him or those with him. It is supposed that Quartermaster Harbor, and probably Gig Harbor, the Narrows, and Point Defiance were others so named, but the report he gave to the public does not so divulge.

PUYALLUP INDIAN RESERVATION

THE next time the Federal Government took notice of this locality was in the making of the Medicine Creek treaty with the Indians, December 26, 1854. At that time Isaac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Washington Territory, concluded an arrangement with the tribes and bands of the upper Sound. Three small reservations were provided for, one consisting of Squaxon Island, near Olympia; one of 1,280 acres near the McAllister Creek or mouth of Nisqually River, and one of 1,280 acres "on the south side of Commencement Bay." The latter was not definitely marked. It was probably meant by Stevens to include two miles of water front extending from the head of the bay, and taking in the donation claims already occupied by Messrs. Delin and Judson. The Indians did not fully understand what they were doing. The making of treaties in those days included a good deal of humbug. The Indians were approached as though they were independent nations, as though they owned the whole country, and as though it were for them to say whether the white people could come here and live. The fallacy of this theory was recognized by our own people from the first settlements of the country, but the form was maintained by the Government for a hundred years, to the detriment of both races. War after war followed in consquence, with the continual result of successful defeats of the natives, their expulsion from place after place, and their gradual destruction and extinction. Under the system and under the requirements of modern civilization it could not be otherwise. So it was here. The Indians saw the whites coming in larger and larger numbers. They found that they were amenable to the laws of the white men, but the white men not to theirs. The white men told them the country belonged to the Indians, and yet the white men took what they wanted of it, and usually took the best. The white men could beat them fishing, hunting, farming or trading. It was a hard situation for the Indians. It made them discontented. They saw their own unhappy plight, and, naturally enough, blamed the white men for it. In the present or the future, in war or in peace, they saw no relief. They had become dependent, and found they could no longer live without the whites, at the same time realizing that they could not live with them. They were stirred and agitated by malcontents. In their desperation they took up arms, as they fully believed in defense of their rights. The struggle was a short one, six or seven months in the latter part of 1855 and earlier part of 1856. By this time Governor Stevens realized that he had erred in not allowing the Indians to retain sufficient and suitable lands. He informed the department at the national capital in May, 1856, that after the conclusion of the Medicine Creek treaty he had become convinced that the reservations set apart for the Nisquallies and Puyallups, "though indicated by the Indians themselves," were not adapted to their wants and should be enlarged or changed. He called the Indians together on Fox Island, August 4, and after a free conference he recommended, August 28, that there be an enlargement at Puyallup "so that the horse Indians should have sufficient range for animals within the boundaries of the reservation." Stevens sent surveyors to the Puyallups with directions to lay off the tract the Indians wanted. When this was done it was found not to include any land on the south side of the bay, so that it was really a new reservation and not an enlargement of the old one, a reservation of 18,000 acres instead of one of 1,280. An approved map of the new reservation was sent on by the Governor, and was given the further approval of President Pierce on the 21st of January, 1857. The lands so set apart included the claims of a number of white men, who were awarded and paid damages amounting to $4,917. Though the Indians still own the greater part of the reservation, they have sold considerable portions, and upon these tracts the city of Tacoma has since been extended.

POINT DEFIANCE MILITARY RESERVE

JULY the 19th, 1859, Brigadier General W. S. Harney, commanding the Department of Oregon, wrote as follows from Fort Vancouver to the army headquarters, then at New York:

"Fort Steilacoom is badly located, being over a mile from the Sound and difficult of access, without any military advantages for protection or defense. In consequence of the immense and impenetrable forests which line its shores, the Sound will always be the channel of communication from point to point, and the positions which command the Sound will always remain the military points of protection and defense. From the great width of the Sound in many parts, suitable locations, with proper shores for wharves and anchorage, are not often presented. I would, therefore, respectfully suggest that Fort Steilacoom be considered a temporary establishment until a proper site to cover the head of the Sound is hereafter named. I consider Point Defiance, on the east shore of the Sound, some sixteen or twenty miles to the north of Fort Steilacoom, as a proper site for this purpose. This point commands the Sound, it being about half a mile wide to the opposite shore; the bluff is some eighty feet high, a sufficient back country, with good anchorage and shores for wharfage. A battery of guns in position here would close the head of the Sound to the largest fleet. The enclosed map will better explain to the General-in-Chief the advantages of this position, and enable him to see how great and urgent are the necessities presented in the 1,500 miles of coast on Puget Sound requiring each day more imperiously its proper defense."

The General's idea that owing to "the impenetrable forests" there never would be land communication parallel with the water, and that the Sound would always remain the channel for trade and travel from point to point, has a strong flavor of exaggeration mixed with misconception in these days, less than half a century later, of great treeless tracts, of wagon roads in every direction, of steam and electric lines of railway, of bicycles, automobiles and other means of communication. The General may have been right from his standpoint in 1859, but from ours in 1905 he was very much in error. He was just as much mistaken with reference to the military need for Point Defiance. There never has been a time when a gun there was desirable, and it is to be hoped there never will be. Harney at that time was not in favor with the General-in-Chief, Winfield Scott, and it may be that in consequence his suggestion was not then acted upon. Seven years later, when both Harney and Scott were retired, the matter was taken up by the authorities, a reservation of 638 acres was recommended at Point Defiance by the Chief of Engineers, approved by the Secretary of War, and ordered by President Andrew Johnson

September 22, 1866. Shortly after Fort Steilacoom was abandoned by the War Department, the twenty-five buildings being sold to the Territory of Washington for $850, a little later the land being donated to the Territory by act of Congress, and for one-third of a century past the property being occupied by the Territory and State as a hospital for the insane. In the meantime the Federal Government found it had no use for Point Defiance, and in 1888 gave to the city of Tacoma the right to occupy it for the purposes of a public park. In carrying out this idea the city has already spent $75,000 on the grounds, and has made it one of the finest popular resorts in the United States. The late Congress, during the present year, increased the hold of the city upon this valuable tract by transferring the fee to it, reserving to the government the right to use it for military, naval or lighthouse purposes, a right not likely at any time to interfere with the city's possession.

THE COWLITZ CONVENTION OF 1851

WHEN the first people came to what is now Pierce County, the ownership of the country was in dispute between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States. During that time the Provisional Government of Oregon was formed, and it claimed and exercised jurisdiction over all the region covered by the American contention. In 1845 it created Lewis County, the south line of which was the Columbia River and the north line the present southern boundary of Alaska.

The inhabitants increased in number from year to year, and their wants increased with their number. These had become so great by the middle of 1851 that a convention was called and held at Cowlitz, on the 29th of August. This was attended by Thomas M. Chambers, Seth Catlin, Jonathan Burbee, Robert Huntress, Edward S. Warbass, John R. Jackson, William R. Frazer, Simon Plomondon, S. S. Saunders, A. B. Dillenbaugh, Marcel Bernier, Sidney S. Ford, James Cochran, Joseph Borst, Michael T. Simmons, Clanrick Crosby, Joseph Broshears, A. J. Simmons, A. M. Poe, David S. Maynard, Daniel F. Brownfield, John Bradley, J. B. Chapman, H. C. Wilson, John Edgar and F. S. Balch. Catlin presided and Balch and Poe served as secretaries. Two days they debated and deliberated. Five committees were appointed. One of them recommended a Territorial government for the country north of the Columbia River, and Chapman, Simmons (M. T.) and Balch were directed to prepare the necessary memorial and push the matter to the utmost. The Oregon Legislature was urged to create four new counties, the name suggested for one of the number being Steilacoom, including that portion of Lewis County where Tacoma now stands. Dr. Maynard introduced the resolution here following:

> "Resolved, That when this convention adjourns, it adjourns to meet on the third Monday in May next (1852) at Olympia, there to form a State Constitution, preparatory to asking admission into the Union as one of the States thereof; provided, that Congress has not at that time organized a Territorial Government."

From a handful of people like this, representing a constituency of less than one thousand souls, and belonging to the Territory of Oregon, this was a remarkable and startling proposition to put forth. It did not trouble these hardy pioneers at all, however, for they adopted it enthusiastically and unanimously.

This was the first convention held in what is now the State of Washington. Wonderful to relate, its every purpose was accomplished. The agitation then begun rested not until the benefits sought were all secured. The following Legislature created but one of the four counties suggested, Thurston; but at the session after, in December, 1852, the others were provided for. Instead of Steilacoom County, Pierce was named, in honor of Franklin Pierce, elected the month before President of the United States. Washington Territory was created a few months later, thus completing the work which the members of this pioneer convention, several of whom were residents of Pierce County, so happily inaugurated.

THE INDIAN STEILACOOM

IT WILL not be out of place to say a few words about Steilacoom, the oldest resident of Pierce County, and who has been more honored in one respect than any other person in the State of Washington. Steilacoom must be nearly or quite ninety years of age. He claims to distinctly remember the coming of the Hudson Bay men more than seventy years ago. His name appears on the Company's records many times as a trusted and faithful employe. So esteemed and prominent was he among the Indians that when Wilkes was here in 1841 he found on Nisqually Plain a wealthy Englishman named Heath, who was raising sheep on what he called "Steilacoom Farm." In 1849, when Captain Hill established the first military post on Puget Sound, it, too, was given the name of Steilacoom. Later, when the fort was taken by the Territorial authorities, the name was continued, and is to this day. In addition to these honors a very handsome body of water a few miles beyond the limits of Tacoma was called Steilacoom Creek, and another is called Steilacoom Lake. When it came time to name a town in the same vicinity, it was also called Steilacoom, and, as already shown, it was not the fault of the home people that the same name was not bestowed upon the county itself. An unprecedented thing in the United States is the existence of two separate postoffices of practically the same name in the same county or State, but in Pierce County that condition exists at Steilacoom and Fort Steilacoom. In addition to these tokens of regard paid by white men to a savage, the band of Indians with whom Steilacoom dwelt half a century ago were called the Steilacoom Indians. All are gone now. He truly is the last of the Steilacooms. The old man lives yet at Nisqually. It is not known to me what Pierce County is doing for him, but if his maintenance is not one of reasonable comfort, it will be the cause of lasting shame.

DELIN; JUDSON; GALLIHER

IN THE spring of 1852 Nicholas Delin, a native of Sweden, settled upon a half section of land at the head of Tacoma Bay, on its south shore. He interested Michael T. Simmons and Smith Hays with him in a water power sawmill enterprise. The mill was set up near the lower end of the gulch south of the present Northern Pacific depot. Those engaged in the work of construction were Cortland Etheridge, Stephen Hodgden, James Taylor, Jack Barnhart and Samuel McCaw. Delin sent to San Francisco two small cargoes of lumber in 1853, on the brig George Emory, belonging to Lafayette Balch and sailed by Captain Alden Y. Trask. He also sold lumber to the home builders about. Among others here at that time were —— Sales and wife, Jacob Waldron, Peter Anderson and A. Baird, who found employment in connection with the mill. Anderson was the logger and Mrs. Sales the cook. She was the first white woman who lived on the bay. She occupied the Delin dwelling, and there, on the 20th of October, 1853, was born the first white child in or near the vicinity, James Sales, who has been a resident of Pierce County ever since, and who now lives in one of the suburbs of Tacoma. In 1853 Swan & Riley were also here, buying salmon from the natives and barreling them for the San Francisco market. At the first election in Washington Territory, January 30, 1854, Nicholas Delin, by appointment from Governor Stevens, served as an officer, this section then being included in Steilacoom precinct.

The immigration of 1853 is of great interest to this portion of the State, because then the people came direct, came over the Natches Pass, and came to the number of 160 souls. Among this, at that time, extraordinarily large number of people were the Kincaids, Wooleries, Downeys, Lights, Lanes, Guesses, Judsons, Wrights, Carsons, Morrisons, Whitesels, Van Ogle and others, who later became noted in the affairs of Pierce County. Among the best of these were the Judsons—Peter the father, his good wife, and their two sturdy sons, Stephen and Paul, who to this day have continued among the leading and honored men of the State. Peter Judson, in the fall of 1853, placed himself and family on the half section north

Peter Judson and Gertrude Meller Delin

of Delin's. These were the first two claims taken on the bay, and the only donations. He began, with the help of his sons, to clear his land at once. In 1854 and 1855 he raised vegetables and wheat, taking the grain to the Crosby mill at Tumwater for grinding. Miss Gertrude Meller, an orphan, who had come with her uncle, Peter Judson, and who was a member of his family on the donation claim for several months, married Nicholas Delin in 1854, they being the first couple wedded here, and their daughter, Annie G. Delin, being the first female child here born, April 22d, 1858. A son, Oscar Nicholas Delin, dwells in Tacoma now.

Delin's mill was of small capacity, cutting at the most 2,000 feet a day, and usually much less. The portion of the bay that fronted his claim has disappeared in the changes incident to the growing town. Judson's claim covered the heart of the present business district of the city, with its paved streets, six-story buildings and all. When the war with the Indians broke out, the whites fled, taking with them everything they were able to move. The Indians destroyed some property. The Judsons settled in other parts of the country, never returning to their first home. Nicholas Delin sold his property to J. L. Perkins, and left the Territory with his family. Perkins later sold to Milas Galliher, who added other lands until he had upwards of 800 acres. The mill was run irregularly until 1869, Frank Spinning being the last one to try his hand at it. It had a fault, which was apparently beyond cure, of turning out boards thicker at one end than at the other, and sometimes thicker in the middle than at either end. The last lumber taken from it by ship was for A. K. P. Glidden, in 1865. With much labor it was transported from the mill to the water, there rafted and then floated down to the ship at anchor off the present Northern Pacific Railroad headquarters building. Captain E. A. Nickels, who has been sailing in and out of Puget Sound since 1861, on the barks Ella Frances, Scotland, Huntsville, ship Dashing Wave and tugboats Tacoma and Pawtucket, received the lumber and put the best of it on board the Huntsville. He tallied for the ship and Job Carr tallied for the mill, with many a squabble between them over the character of the lumber. Nickels rejected nearly one-half of the lumber as unmerchantable, and, with 300,000 feet on board, sailed for one of the lower Sound mill ports, where he completed his cargo of 600,000 feet. Many years after Captain Nickels lived in Tacoma, where he bought the home of Job Carr, the famous log house which he presented to the city, which in turn moved it to and set it up in Defiance Park. The old Delin-Galliher mill finally passed into the ownership of the Tacoma Land Company, which disposed of the so-called machinery in 1875 to an ambitious but misguided would-be mill owner in Puyallup valley.

THE JOB CARR FAMILY

FOR several years prior to December, 1864, the south side of Tacoma Bay was abandoned by white men. Occasionally some one was here, and a little something was done, but it was so little and inconsequential as to be unworthy of record. Dr. Charles H. Spinning made a slight effort to secure government land where the Carrs subsequently located, but finding that he could not legally perfect his title soon abandoned the effort. In 1864 Job Carr, from Indiana, made his appearance. After talking with Dr. Spinning and William Billings, he went along the shore in a canoe looking

The Job Carr house, built in 1865, as it now stands in Point Defiance Park

Job Carr

at the lands passed by as carefully as he could. When he came to the place where the banks were not so high he was pleased, and, landing at the foot of what is now McCarver street, concluded that he had found what he wanted and would there establish his home. This was on Christmas day of 1864. His log cabin was speedily erected; in good time his claim was surveyed by John V. Meeker, and after a while he got his patent from the Government for 168¾ acres. He sent for his family, who joined him in 1865. His son Howard took a claim near by, and so also did his son Anthony. They had good soil, which on cultivation would enable them to live. They, perhaps, also thought that some day a town would be there or near there. However this may have been, they took no steps themselves to make a town. In fact, they had neither money nor influence, and could only stay on and wait for something to turn up. This something turned up in the spring of 1868.

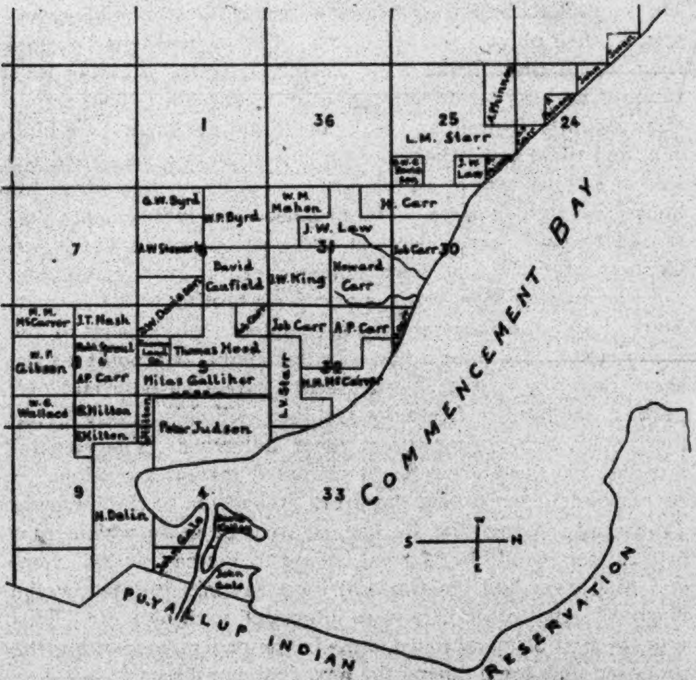
GEN. McCARVER BUYS THE CARR CLAIM

THERE lived in Portland a man named Morton Matthew McCarver, usually known as General McCarver by virtue of military services in the Territory of Iowa thirty years before. Born in Kentucky in 1807, his independent nature, and nervous, restless disposition, led him from home early in life to the Mexican Province of Texas, to Illinois in 1829, in 1833 to Iowa, in 1843 to Oregon, in 1848 to California, in 1858 to British Columbia, and in 1862 to Idaho. He was now looking for another field, one that, considering his 61 years, would probably be his last, and one that, he hoped, would be his best. California had recently been connected by rail with the Eastern States. Oregon was then in the beginning of a railroad boom that was strong and long-continued; the same interests were considering a road to Puget Sound, and in addition the Northern Pacific Company had been chartered and was about ready to begin construction. General McCarver came to the conclusion that Puget Sound was the easiest, best, most promising and sure place for him to operate. He read the Vancouver, Wilkes and Stevens reports, examined maps and charts, and as he went on became daily more positive and earnest. He represented the matter to two friends—Lewis M. Starr, president of the First National Bank, and James Steel, cashier of the same institution. They were warmed by his enthusiasm and quickly convinced. An arrangement was made between the three men, by which they were to secure land and start a new town, leaving the selection of a site, acquisition of property and all the arrangements and management with McCarver. He wasted no time in starting, but about the 1st of April left home on his horse for the new field. He stopped at Olympia to look over the records in the Surveyor General's and Land Offices, after which he headed for the Puyallup Indian Reservation. He put up at the house of the government farmer, Mr. Thomas Elder. Next day he hired Indians and a canoe, and sounded the bay with a line and sinker, obtained from Storekeeper Clendenin. He did the same at Gig and Quartermaster Harbors. He was satisfied with his examination, both of the lands and waters. Calling upon Mr. Job Carr, he plainly and boldly outlined the object of his visit. He wanted to buy Carr's land, telling him whom he represented, their objects and intentions. If they could get the land they would there make their town, secure the building of a sawmill, and the introduction later of a railroad. These things Carr ardently desired, and as he could not get them done himself, and there was other land for him to obtain, he closed the sale at $10 per acre of all his land except five acres, where his house and garden were. The promises and inducements presented to Carr were observed and carried out to the letter. General McCarver at once homesteaded a land claim, and selected another alongside his own for a brother of his partner, Starr. Later the General also preempted a place back of the Delin claim. He built a house on his claim, at a point on the shore near the foot of North Second street as now laid out, getting his lumber from the Galliher mill, his family living there with him during the summer following. The General received his deed April 8. It attracted instant attention. A correspondent wrote that day from Steilacoom to the Olympia Transcript, saying that he had an item of news which, if it proved true, would be of great benefit to Pierce County. General McCarver had bought land for a sawmill just below the Narrows; that capitalists were interested with him, etc. This was the first of many news items in the papers concerning the proposed new town during the next few months.

A CENSUS OF 1868

OTHERS took lands on the front and in the vicinity. Beginning at the south end of the bay, the land claims in order were Nicholas Delin's, Peter Judson's, Lucius V. Starr's, M. M. McCarver's, Anthony P. Carr's, Job Carr's and Howard Carr's. Living in the neighborhood during the summer of 1868 were Job Carr, Howard Carr, Anthony P.

Carr, Miss Marietta Carr, Frank Spinning, Mrs. Amanda Spinning, Lucius V. Starr, James W. King, Thomas Hood, David Caufield, James W. Law, William Mahon, William P. Byrd, M. M. McCarver, Mrs. Julia A. McCarver, Miss Virginia McCarver, Miss Elizabeth M. McCarver and Miss Naomi McCarver. On the Puyallup Indian Reservation were C. H. Spinning, the doctor; Thomas Elder, the farmer; A. W. Stewart, the carpenter; John Flett, the blacksmith; and William Clendenin, the storekeeper. These men all had families. The Clendenin store was a great convenience to the people up the valley, as well as to those on the harbor. The latter went to it in boats and canoes for their clothing, hardware and groceries. From the country they came with their butter and eggs. When he had accumulated a goodly supply of these products, he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36
25
L.M. Starr
24
J.W. Law
G.W. Byrd
W.P. Byrd
W.M. Mahon
H. Carr
J.W. Law
31
Job Carr
30
7
A.W. Stewart
David Caufield
J.W. King
Howard Carr
M.M. McCarver
J.T. Nash
Job Carr
A.P. Carr
W.P. Gibson
A.P. Carr
Thomas Hood
5
L.V. Starr
32
M.M. McCarver
Milas Galliher
W.G. Wallace
Hilton
Hilton
Peter Judson
9
4
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H. Dolin
John Gale
COMMENCEMENT BAY
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PUYALLUP INDIAN RESERVATION

Tacoma Harbor in 1868. Map of Land Claims Tacoma Townsite.

would get together his Indian crew, load up his big canoe, and row and sail to Seattle, where he would exchange his produce for things needed on the shelves of his store. Life on the bay that summer was, in its quietude, in strange contrast with the noise of to-day. Indians could be heard talking a mile away, while the rowing of a boat could easily be heard two miles. One foggy evening the steamer Eliza Anderson came in, on her way from Victoria to Olympia. She repeatedly blew her whistle, the noise of which exceeded anything ever before heard here. Anthony Carr answered, firing off his gun after every blast of the whistle. A boat then brought to the shore two passengers—Mr. and Mrs. C. P. Ferry of Portland. This was the first time a steamboat is positively known to have been in this harbor, and certainly the first time for a vessel of her kind carrying mail and passengers.

General McCarver bought during August and September of 1868 280 acres of other lands from James W. King, Lucius V. Starr and Howard Carr, and in 1869 bought 305 acres from Howard Carr, S. S. Hilton and J. T. Nash. In 1872 he bought the Judson claim of 321 acres, 794 acres from Milas Galliher, 40 acres from Job Carr, 59 acres from John Rigney, 80 acres from A. W. Stewart, and a lot of smaller tracts from eleven other people. He followed these purchases with others in 1873. He was then getting ready for the coming of the railroad he had promised years before, and in securing which he was the prime mover and principal agent. The history of Tacoma during the seven years he lived in it was the history of McCarver himself for the same period. As its projector, founder, namer, proprietor and guiding spirit, it could not be otherwise.

HANSON, ACKERSON & CO.'S SAWMILL

IN THE spring of 1868 five men in California, who in different ways and places were connected with the lumber business, got together and discussed the advisability of a copartnership, with a view to the erection of a sawmill on Puget Sound. Their names were Charles Hanson, William P. Wallace, John W. Ackerson, John A. Russ and Samuel Hadlock. In June they sent Hadlock north to look at the timber and chances, and, if he thought favorably of them, to select a site for a mill. He spent four or five weeks in the investigation, and concluded that the field for their proposed operations was all that could be wished, and further, that at Port Orchard was to be found a site in every way suitable. His report was satisfactory to the other men, and to him, he having previously built two mills, was assigned the selection, purchase and installation of the necessary machinery for the mill he was to build for them on the chosen site. He suggested to his associates that one of them also visit the Sound for the purpose of securing the land by purchase and deed, and to Mr. Ackerson was delegated that duty. Hadlock came north first, only to find that the place he wanted was school land and not obtainable. Upon Ackerson's arrival another site had not been chosen. The two men went at it together. John Swan got them to look at Quartermaster Harbor. From there they went to Steilacoom. General McCarver in the meantime had heard of them, and was diligently trying to locate them. He succeeded at Steilacoom. They accompanied him to Tacoma, in the latter half of October. Mr. Hadlock was pleased with a place he had selected for the mill, and Mr. Ackerson bought it, 85 acres, for $700—30 acres from Anthony P. Carr, 17 acres from Marshall F. Moore, and 38 acres from M. M. McCarver. On the Carr land the mill was built by Mr. Hadlock, its first cargo of lumber going to San Francisco on the bark Samoset in December, 1869, and its second on the barkentine Free Trade.

THE SELECTION OF A TOWN NAME

SO FAR in this paper the word Tacoma has been used as though it were the name of the place at the times referred to. That was for convenience and to avoid unnecessary and confusing explanations. There is no better opportunity to tell the story than this. Among the first people this vicinity was generally known as Puyallup. Here were the Puyallup River, Puyallup Valley, Puyallup Reservation, Puyallup Indians and Puyallup Bay. Though Commencement Bay was on the government charts, and known to mariners, it did not seem to be known to the landsmen of Pierce County. The Indian name for the land taken by the Carrs was

Chebaulip. None of the citizens heeded that, and as the Indians themselves had little regard for their own names, and were always willing to adopt those of the whites instead, Chebaulip was passed and forgotten. When General McCarver projected the town the idea of a name presented itself. He discussed the matter with his associates in the enterprise and his new neighbors on the bay. They talked of Washington, Pierce, Puget, Pacific, Puyallup, Rainier, Vashon, Defiance, Chebaulip, Commencement, and various others more or less appropriate. Of the lot suggested, Commencement was the most favored. So the place became, for the time being, by popular consent, Commencement City. It was a matter of temporary convenience, just as Olympia was first called Smithfield, and Steilacoom called Port Steilacoom. There was really nothing to name—no town, no postoffice, no election precinct—nothing but a score of men, women and children scattered over several square miles of territory, holding land claims and perfecting titles thereto.

On Friday, the 11th of September, 1868, Mr. Philip Ritz landed at Steilacoom from the steamer George S. Wright. Mr. Ritz was one of the most prominent men in the Territory of Washington, dwelling east of the Cascade Mountains, respected and honored by all. Not only was he a scientific farmer and a man of great public spirit, but he was a reader of books, a writer, and a fluent, forceful talker. He was then on a trip acquiring information for use in the interest of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. He wanted to see the site of the contemplated new Puget Sound town, and he also wanted to suggest a name for it. He rode over to the reservation, and from there went by canoe to the house of the McCarvers, and later spent the night at Job Carr's. That evening and the next morning he talked with all the eloquence in him the name Tacoma. He told of a recently issued book called "The Canoe and the Saddle," which he had just read. It was, he said, written by one Theodore Winthrop, who had been on the Sound fifteen years before, and who, on the 22d day of August, 1853, crossed the harbor then in front of them. Winthrop's book was written in 1859, and published in 1862, one year after his own death on the field of battle at Big Bethel, Virginia, where he then was Major of a regiment of Connecticut volunteers. In this book Winthrop made known several names which, he alleged, were of Indian character, among them Kulshan for Mount Baker, Whulge for Puget Sound, and Tacoma for Mount Rainier. It is only historically fair to say that these names were unknown to the white people until after the publication of this book, and unknown in our own Territory until about 1866. Mr. Ritz's presentation was convincing to the wife and daughters of General McCarver. His pleasant words concerning the place, and his predictions of a great future for it, were also most agreeable and exciting. Sleep was banished from the McCarver house that night, and daylight of Saturday came and found the occupants still talking it over, repeating what Mr. Ritz had said, and eager to see him again and get more from him on the same subject while on his way from the Carr home to the other Puget Sound points he intended visiting. General McCarver spent the following Monday and Tuesday with him at Seattle. Ritz was somewhat excited himself, and he proposed to General McCarver the taking by himself of an interest in the town enterprise, equal to that of each of the others—one-fourth of the whole. Failing in that, he would buy at least forty acres of McCarver's claim. McCarver gave him to understand that $1,500 would be required to secure a quarter interest, and that they would not sell even to him at that price unless he joined with them in pushing the growth of the town, giving it full time and personal attention, as he himself was doing. Mr. Ritz repeated his suggestion of the name Tacoma, and the General told him that he would present the matter to his associates in the enterprise with commendation, delaying to the last any action unfavorable to the suggestion. He talked it over with the members of his family and with Mr. Carr. About the 23d of October Mr. Lewis M. Starr came from Portland. McCarver took advantage of the opportunity offered by a meeting of Ackerson, Hadlock, Starr and himself to propose the name Tacoma as that of the town and mill. Hadlock assented at once. Starr hesitated, but in the end said that it was for McCarver to call the place what he chose. Ackerson said that he had no town to name, but that if he had he would prefer calling it after an Indian chief, as had been done at Seattle, and he named Sitwell of Puyallup as suitable. As for the mill, he and Mr. Hadlock were only two out of five owners, and the matter would have to be submitted to the others. In truth, Ackerson wanted his own name used in connection with the mill, and upon his return to San Francisco a few weeks later he was gratified in this respect. The men organized as Hanson, Ackerson & Co. One after another four of the original partners dropped out, Ackerson after Wallace, Russ and Hadlock, when the name was changed to Charles Hanson & Co. March 19, 1884, the Tacoma Mill Company was organized, and then, and not till then, did the mill by the formal legal action of the owners become the Tacoma Mill. Starr also seemed to have some little prejudice against the name. In 1870 he became possessed of a steamer that, during the six months of its building, was called the Tacoma, which he changed to Alida. The very extensive business that he subsequently conducted on the Sound was always in his own name. With the assent of Starr, McCarver felt assured. He found that Carr was entirely willing. Starr and McCarver went to Portland a few days later, where Ackerson soon followed them. October 26 he filed the deed from Anthony Carr at Steilacoom; on the 30th he completed the Steel, Starr and McCarver deed at Portland, and on the 10th of November, by the signature of Mrs. Fannie Moore, the other deed was completed at Olympia. These deeds were to the five individual owners. In none of the deeds did Ackerson use the word Tacoma, but, on the contrary, invented another name, describing the lands in each case as being "in Commencement Bay."

"TACOMA" CHOSEN AND BESTOWED

In August, 1868, General McCarver employed Charles A. White, an Olympia civil engineer, to survey and map a portion of his land for town purposes. In doing this White placed on the map the words "Commencement City." During the last week in October, when the three partners met alone in the First National Bank at Portland, and Steel had given his consent to the name Tacoma, General

McCarver was authorized to sell lots at agreed prices in a prescribed manner. It was determined, however, that the plat then before them should be used only for selling purposes, and it therefore went without signature, dedication or legend of any kind. McCarver's son-in-law, C. P. Ferry, being an expert penman, was asked by the General to strike out Commencement City and insert Tacoma, which request he complied with, and the map so changed can now be seen in the Ferry Museum in this city.

From that time on the place was known as Tacoma. The events recited were complete and unquestioned at the time. Of late so many false claims in this connection have been made, and so much misrepresentation uttered, that it is well now to be explicit, clear and strong. Except as here stated, no one else had anything to do with the naming of Tacoma. The only living participants in the acts conected with the bestowal of the name are Samuel Hadlock and James Steel. These gentlemen have recently written as follows:

From Mr. Hadlock, January 30, 1905:

"Just before starting for Portland, General McCarver got Mr. Ackerson, myself and Starr together, and directing his conversation to us all, asked how we would like the name of Tacoma for the town. I readily agreed to it, and so did Mr. Ackerson. I had no objection to the name, but would have agreed to it anyway, as I considered General McCarver the principal promoter of the town, and that he had the right to give it such name as suited him. We felt no particular interest in the town at that time. Our interest was in the mill. Not so with Mr. Starr. He had money invested in land there on account of the prospects of the town. He hesitated somewhat, but did not object to the name. That is the first time I had heard the name Tacoma, and I believed General McCarver to be the author of it."

From Mr. Steel, February 4, 1905:

"We concluded that Commencement City was too long a name, and at the suggestion of General McCarver we changed the name to Tacoma. Neither Mr. J. W. Ackerson nor any other person had anything to do with naming the place Tacoma, so far as I know. The name was decided upon by Mr. Starr, General McCarver and myself, in the offices of the First

National Bank, Portland, and as I have said, at the suggestion of General McCarver, who informed Mr. Starr and myself that that was the Indian name for Mount Rainier."

Mr. Job Carr at one time prepared a short paper dealing with the early events here, in which the only statement made concerning the name was this:

"At the time of locating the mill, the place was called Tacoma."

The first newspaper items in which the town was referred to by its new and now fixed name were these:

From the Portland Commercial of November 16, 1868:

"These rotten old hulks of the Mexican Steamship Company have for years sapped the life-blood of Oregon by way of the Columbia River, and if the present scheme is carried out the sucking and sapping process will go on by way of the Tacoma and Vancouver railroad."

From the Seattle Intelligencer, November 23, 1868:

"The name of the new town laid off by General McCarver and known as Commencement City, has been changed to Tacoma after the Indian name for Mount Rainier. It is reported to us that great progress is making in erecting houses on the site, and the building of roads has commenced."

RAILROAD SCHEMES OF 1868

AT THE time Messrs. Steel, Starr and McCarver had this important meeting in Portland they determined, if possible, to secure the building into their town of the railroad then much discussed from Columbia River to Puget Sound. Two companies were organized for this purpose, both bearing the same name—Puget Sound & Columbia River Railroad Company. One was incorporated by S. G. Reed, Cyrus Olney, S. B. Jones and John W. Brazee, under the local law. The other men went to Congress for a charter and right-of-way, Delegate Flanders introducing the necessary bill. These men were R. R. Haines, T. F. McElroy, Joseph Cushman, George A. Barnes, T. I. McKenny, Fred A. Clark, S. D. Howe, Marshall F. Moore, G. A. Meigs, Arthur A. Phinney, George V. Calhoun, Cyrus Walker, A. A. Denny,

P. D. Moore, C. E. P. Wood, Philip Ritz, D. S. Baker, E. S. Fowler, Hazard Stevens, Philip Keach and P. B. Van Trump—all citizens of Washington Territory. The bill did not pass, Northern Pacific interests defeating it. Ben Holladay was the power then in Oregon. He had this section in view, and thought seriously of extending his road from Portland here. He had a surveying party looking for a route under Engineer T. R. Brooks, and he printed a large number of blank bonds for right-of-way donations. General McCarver brought back with him a lot of these bonds, and on account of his activity in getting them filled and signed for the road into Tacoma, he was attacked by the Olympia Transcript. He replied through the Pacific Tribune, December 8, as follows:

> "As one of the agents of Holladay & Co., who has perhaps taken as many rights of way and concessions of land as any other agent, I will state to the public that in every instance these three conditions are inserted, viz.: that the road should within one year from the 30th of October, 1868, be commenced, permanently located at Tacoma, on Commencement Bay, and completed within five years from date. The alarm of the editor will doubtless disappear on examining the manner in which the necessary blanks are filled, as all the evils complained of by him are, beyond question, obviated. I have no desire myself to be instrumental in committing a fraud on this or any other community, whether it promotes my personal interest or that of others, and would take it as a favor for the editor or any friend to call my attention to what he may suppose would lead to suspicion of such intent."

The Olympians made an effort at the same time to secure the Holladay road for their own town, and so they did at other places, but to the sore disappointment of the people adverse interests prevailed, and for two more years the building of the long contemplated, much discussed railroad was delayed.

FIRST TOWN LOT SALES

BETWEEN the new mill company and the anticipated railroad, things livened up at once at Tacoma, and the Seattle and Olympia papers thereafter had frequent mentions of the place and the doings within it. General McCarver began to sell town lots from the sales map before mentioned. He gave no deeds, but bonds calling for deeds at a later date instead. The only one of these bonds recorded was given to John T. Nash, and was filed at the county office on the 2d of December, 1868. This was one year before the plat was filed. This bond is the first official record—city, county, state or national—in which the name Tacoma appears. It was for lot 1, in block 11, on the southwest corner of Starr and Thirtieth Streets. The lot, like all other lots at the time, was sold with the proviso that in the event of a railroad being permanently located, running through or terminating at Tacoma within five years, the buyer was to pay more upon receiving his deed. In case a railroad was not so built, he was to have deed without additional price. Nash paid $100 and was to pay $200 more. The calculation of those selling, that five years would be the outside limit of time needed to get a road into the town, was borne out by the fact, for it was just five years later, December, 1873, when the iron rails reached the bay in front of the town. Nash was an enterprising, bustling, pushing fellow. He took a land claim near by. He bought horses and a stage, and on the 7th of December started a line to Steilacoom and Olympia. He told them at Olympia that Tacoma in six months would have four thousand inhabitants, being then the largest town in the Territory, that the mill there was to be the biggest on the Coast, and that it wouldn't be more than a year before his own stages would be driven out of business by the railroad. H. N. Steele came as soon as Nash, perhaps a little sooner, and it may be that he got a bond before, but he did not have it recorded, and it is impossible now to tell. Steele's lots were on the corner opposite Nash's. Others also bought about the same time, there being an active demand in November and December for properties in the new town. In one of McCarver's letters, written in November, 1868, he spoke of the sale of several town lots in Tacoma.

THE TOWN STARTS

IN 1869 Tacoma made very perceptible progress. Many lots were sold, and many houses erected. It was a year for quite a number of things. The mill company's operations were actively pushed. Its employes were more numerous; the framework of its main building went up;

machinery was installed; that necessary adjunct, the cookhouse, was enlarged; a stock of merchandise was sent up from San Francisco, and opened under the direction of J. P. Stewart, who was also bookkeeper. George E. Atkinson, who was invaluable in Tacoma in its early days, soon succeeded Stewart, however, and for many years scaled logs, tallied lumber, kept the books, attended the postoffice, sold merchandise and lumber, superintended the mill, was school clerk, justice of the peace, Free Mason, churchman, adviser, friend and helper to everyone. The company's wharf was of great assistance, enabling the occasional steamers, which now began to find their way hither from other Sound ports, to land their passengers and packages of freight conveniently and safely.

The hotel opened by Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Steele about the first of the year was also of much advantage, encouraging people to come from abroad with the knowledge that there was suitable place for them to stay. The opening of the Steele hotel was quite a grand affair, there being a ball, the first in Tacoma, attended by all the home people and others from Steilacoom and the country. Before this strangers went to the house of Mr. Job Carr, who was very hospitable, and who, it is feared, was often imposed upon in consequence. His daughter, Marietta, was a good cook and fine housekeeper, and, considering the limited opportunities at her command, did astonishingly well and fully deserved the abundant praise given her.

Of course, the people had to have home-grown food stuffs of various kinds. The residents soon had cows and chickens. Little gardens made their appearance, with lettuce, radishes, onions and the like. The most serious trouble was to get meat. Frank Wright solved this by killing cattle, sheep and hogs on his farm, and twice a week bringing in the meat and selling it from his wagon. The Puyallup Indians were the source of most abundant supplies. They furnished the hay that was needed for the horses and cows, and in addition furnished for the people potatoes, eggs, fish, oysters, venison and other game. In this way, with groceries from the stores, there was always enough to eat, though at times the variety was quite limited and the vendors correspondingly independent.

The wedding of Anthony P. Carr and Miss Josephine Byrd, May 20, 1869, was the first event of its kind after the establishment of the town.

FIRST OCEAN STEAMER; POSTOFFICE; POLITICS

THE first ocean steamer to visit the port was the Gussie Telfair, Captain Scholl, on her way from Portland to Olympia via Victoria and Seattle. She arrived on the 17th of March, 1869, having as passengers the family of General McCarver and Mr. A. S. Gross. Her freight consisted of the General's household furniture, and in addition doors, windows, hardware, lime and paint for the dwelling house he was erecting. He had built a log house for temporary occupancy, and they lived in that until the other house was finished, in November. This house still stands, in good order and appearance yet up to the average of dwellings throughout the city, on North Twenty-eighth and McCarver Streets. It was the first house in Tacoma either weather-boarded, painted or plastered. Before the mill got to cutting, lumber was generally imported from Nisqually or Seattle, bricks from Olympia or Steilacoom, and other necessaries from various places as circumstances favored.

Everybody wanted a postoffice, to be sure, and everybody signed the petition asking for it, and for the appointment of Job Carr as postmaster. The requests were granted, and the office opened in Carr's house on the 25th of March. The mail was carried from Steilacoom in the beginning by Anthony P. Carr, sometimes on horse, sometimes in canoe, and sometimes on foot. When the steamers got to carrying the mail, the office was removed to the Mill Company's store, where W. E. Ackerson served as postmaster. Later it was taken back to Thirtieth Street, then Second, S. F. Sahm and Augustus Walters being the two last postmasters.

Politics made its appearance in 1869. On the 6th of May the County Commissioners established Tacoma precinct and appointed H. N. Steel, Inspector, and Job Carr and A. C.

Lowell, Judges. Campaigning was confined to talk on the streets. The election was held June 7th, at Job Carr's house. Twenty-nine votes were cast, thirteen going to Selucius Garfielde, the Republican nominee for Congress, and sixteen to his Democratic opponent, Marshall F. Moore.

THE TOWNSITE PLATTED

MUCH advance was being made and the prospects were so flattering, that the partners, McCarver, Starr and Steel, thought that the time had now come for the formal platting of their townsite. The engineer's services were again called for, and a tract of ground was laid out considerably larger than that surveyed the year before. It included thirty-one blocks in Section 30, of Township 21, Range 3 East. Except a few long ones extending into the bay, the lots were all 50x120 feet, and twelve to the block. Alleys 20 feet wide were provided for. Streets parallel with the bay were 80 feet wide and were numbered. Streets leading from the bay were 100 feet wide and were named White, Steel, Carr, McCarver and Starr. On the 10th of August, 1869, James Steel and Lewis M. Starr acknowledged in Portland their signatures to this plat "of the Town of Tacoma, Washington Territory." Job Carr and M. M. McCarver joined them in the dedication, but did not acknowledge, and unfortunately did not file until four months later. In the meantime, Anthony P. Carr got a small tract that he had, five blocks back from the bay, surveyed by A. W. Unthank, mapped into eighteen lots, four blocks and two streets, all of varying widths, and on the 30th of November filed it with the County Auditor as his plat of the town of Tacoma. His excuse for this unexpected and seemingly treacherous act was that he feared the attempted establishment of another town of Tacoma near Point Defiance, by interests somewhat hostile, and that he merely wanted to head them off. Be this as it may, it was a hard blow to General McCarver. He immediately consulted Frank Clark, the attorney, who told him that there already being one platted town of Tacoma, he was prevented from platting another. He could either plat an addition to Carr's Tacoma, or he could plat under another name. The former expedient was not to be thought of, and as the best way out of the difficulty the map was changed to "Tacoma City," and was so filed December 3, 1869. Following these other plats came quickly, the first one being William P. Byrd's Addition to Tacoma City, January 28, 1870. He was the first one to use the word avenue on a Tacoma plat.

John T. Nash disposed of his stage line to W. P. Byrd, who opened the first livery stable. Byrd's prices were not excessive for the time, but by contrast with those of later days they seem pretty steep. It cost then $3 to Steilacoom and back, and $8 to and from Olympia.

ATTEMPTED GRABBING OF INDIAN LANDS

ABOUT the 1st of October the impression was given out at the Surveyor General's office at Olympia, that there really was no reservation of lands for the Puyallup Indians, and that the supposed reservation actually was land open to the public for occupancy and entry. Eager to get the fine tracts there known to be in the vicinity of a growing and promising town, a large number of white men hurried to the scene and began staking off claims. The Indians were astonished, then alarmed and angered, and for a time it looked as if once more there might be war between them and the white men. Superintendent Ross had difficulty in quieting them, and only succeeded by summarily expelling the aggressive, acquisitive, mistaken white men. By proclamation he informed them of the entire legality of the reservation, and gave them just one hour to get off of it, under threat of arrest for trespassing and criminal prosecution.

TACOMA SCHOOL DISTRICT

SEPTEMBER 18, 1869, School District No. 11 was created and established by order of E. P. Boyle, the County Superintendent. Mr. A. W. Stewart was commissioned to organize the new district. The town proprietors gave a lot on the corner of Starr and Twenty-eighth Streets, and by popular subscription $300 was raised to build the necessary house. District 11 became District 10 on the 3d of January, 1870, by reason of the former District 10 ceasing to exist. George T. Vining was the first clerk, and James P. Stewart the first school teacher. School was kept for six months, the parents and friends making up the shortage occasioned by the lack of public money available for the purpose. The second teacher was Miss Virginia McCarver. School books used then were Town's and Wilson's Readers, Ray's and Davies' Arithmetics, Town's Speller, Cornell's Geography and Clark's Grammar.

TACOMA IN THE LEGISLATURE

TACOMA received considerable attention in the Legislature that fall. Fred A. Clarke was a member of the Council from Pierce, and he saw to it that the new town was shown up in the most favorable light. One of his measures that became a law provided for a Territorial road from McAllister's bridge, in Thurston County, to the town of Tacoma, in Pierce County, and thence on to Snoqualmie prairie, in King County. The viewers appointed were D. W. C. Davisson, A. Williamson Stewart and B. F. Brown. The object was to give Pierce and Thurston Counties close connection with the road over the Snoqualmie Pass to Eastern Washington. Another measure that Clarke secured the passage of was a memorial asking that Tacoma be placed on mail route 15,406, between Olympia and Victoria, and including all way ports. In the memorial it was recited that Tacoma was but four miles off the route; that in the town was then in operation one of the largest sawmills in the Territory, requiring one hundred men to keep it in active operation; that a large ship-yard was also there; that it was the trading point for the rich Puyallup valley; that the town was growing rapidly, increasing in commercial business and population, new dwellings and business houses being daily erected, and that a steamer was then making semi-weekly trips to and from the town. A third measure of Clarke's was another Territorial road bill for a highway from Yelm prairie, in Thurston County, to Tacoma. The viewers named were John Rigney, James W. Law and William Wagner.

FIRST THINGS OF A NUMBER OF YEARS

THE next three years—1870, 1871 and 1872—were not so eventful as the two years before. Due progress was made, but it was in the course of ordinary things incident to the development of a new, small town. The sailboats and plungers were displaced by the steamers Varuna, J. B. Libby, Alida and Zephyr, which one after another came for trade and connected Tacoma with the upper and lower Sound ports. These were followed by the Black Diamond, Capt. Hill, the ownership of which was transferred to the new town, and which was the first of a numerous fleet of steamers to make this her home port.

Among other first things coming about this time, some a little before, were these: A new store in the town (the platted part), by F. C. Miller, soon changed to Clendenin & Miller; a physician, Dr. R. H. Lansdale; a carpenter shop, Ball & Bonney; a saloon, Craig & Cosgrove; photograph gallery, Anthony P. Carr; musical instruments, dulcimer belonging to Anthony P. Carr, and a piano to the family of M. M. McCarver; Sunday school, A. Williamson Stewart, superintendent.

These were not all the new things, either. On the 4th of February, 1870, was born to Mr. and Mrs. Baker a daughter, the first white child in the town of Tacoma. She was called Lena Tacoma. In 1889 she married Harvey Johnson, of Steel Run, Ohio, where she lived until her death, November 23, 1897. She left five children. Her mother, Mrs. S. L. Baker, has long resided at Sumner, Pierce County. The second child born here was Annie Lansdale, now the wife of Judge Milo A. Root of the State Supreme Court. The third was Floyd Steele, February 3, 1871, still a resident of Tacoma.

Judge C. H. Botsford was the first lawyer. His wife, in 1872, is believed to have been the third person to die here, the first and second persons being Mrs. Darrow and Mrs. Matthews.

Tacoma made its first appearance upon the map in 1870. Upon the map of Western Washington, then issued by Hazard Stevens, Tacoma was seen in large letters at the right place, and near it in small letters the word "Sawmill."

The Methodists were the first to get a clergyman on the ground. In 1868 Rev. George H. Greer appeared, and soon after Rev. I. D. Driver. The place was subsequently visited at different times by Messrs. Mann, Hoxie and Patterson. The latter at one time received a purse of $150 from the sympathetic and appreciative mill men. In 1873 Rev. W. T. Chapman was assigned to Tacoma, but it was not until several years had elapsed that their denomination occupied the field in earnest, with a building of its own. The services in the first years were invariably held in the school house or mill cookhouse. The Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists and Catholics also held religious services from time to time during the first three years of the '70s.

The first citizens to hold public office were these: Job Carr, enrolling clerk in the Territorial Legislature, 1867-8, at the end of the session he being given a vote of thanks for the able and gentlemanly manner with which he had discharged his official duties; A. C. Lowell, appointed by the County Commissioners Justice of the Peace, May 6, 1869, and M. M. McCarver, elected by the people County School Superintendent in June, 1870, for two years. Job Carr was the first Notary Public and M. M. McCarver the second.

In 1871 the town had its first gun casualties. A man named Kennedy slightly wounded himself in the knee while celebrating Washington's birthday by firing at crows. March 24 a dancing master named McCann drove a livery horse harder than the stable man thought he should have done, and in the altercation over it McCann shot the other man, named Ellis, in the face, fortunately, however, without inflicting a mortal wound.

FIRST PUBLIC POLITICAL MEETING

THE first open political meeting held in Tacoma was on the evening of May 30, 1870, in the school house. That day Selucius Garfielde, Republican candidate for Delegate to Congress, came on the steamer Favorite from Olympia and Steilacoom, accompanied by a brass band, singers and others, on a tour of the Sound. J. D. Mix was the opposing Democratic candidate. They had it sharp and hot at Steilacoom in the afternoon, it being a joint debate. As usual the Tacoma meeting was held in the school house. John W. Ackerson presided. Garfielde, who was the greatest orator of Territorial days, spoke for an hour and a half, principally upon the Northern Pacific Railroad, that being the subject then nearest the hearts of the people, as he supposed. Mix followed for an hour, his remarks being a general assault upon the personal record of Garfielde, and his position and acts in connection with the railroad. The joint debates ended there and then, Mix going to Seattle by Indian canoe, and Garfielde and party by their steamer the next morning. The election was in June, on the first Monday, M. M. McCarver serving as inspector, George T. Vining and F. C. Miller as judges, A. P. Carr and A. C. Lowell as clerks. Fifty-three votes were cast, Marshall Blinn getting one, Selucius Garfielde 17, and J. D. Mix 35. Pierce County in its first quarter of a century was unfailingly Democratic, and in 1870 was as true to its political idols as it always had been before. Garfielde was elected in the Territory at large, as he also had been the previous year. In 1872, however, the people turned against him, and in the slaughter that resulted Pierce County was with the majority.

CHEBAULIP LODGE OF GOOD TEMPLARS

In September, 1871, Mrs. Carrie F. Young was authorized by George F. Whitworth, Grand Worthy Chief Templar, to organize a lodge of Good Templars at Tacoma. She made a public address and instituted Chebaulip Lodge, No. 42. Its meetings were held in the mill cook-house. For a time the lodge thrived. At the November session of the Grand Lodge, held at Olympia, John Reagan, Chebaulip's delegate, extended an invitation for the holding of the 1872 session in Tacoma. The Grand Lodge was apprehensive that the session would be too heavy a tax upon the organization represented by Mr. Reagan, which then had but fifteen members, and it decided in favor of Seattle instead. The Stewart, Flett, Howes and Story families, and Alex. Dumas and John Reagan were the main supporters of Tacoma's first lodge. In the financial depression of 1874-5 Chebaulip came to an untimely end.

TERMINUS LOCATED AT TACOMA

IN 1873 Tacoma history was rapidly made. The Northern Pacific Railroad was at hand. In May, 1870, the last act needed by the Company was made law by Congress, and the work was begun shortly after at Kalama, on Columbia River. By the end of 1871 the finished line stretched twenty-five miles up the Cowlitz valley, and by the end of 1872 was forty miles further north, ending at Tenino, in Thurston County. All Puget Sound was intensely interested in the location of the terminus. Port Townsend, Whidby Island, Bellingham Bay, Port Susan and Mukilteo were the north end possibilities. Seattle, Tacoma, Steilacoom, Nisqually and Olympia the south end. Olympia received a direct, positive promise of it on Christmas day of 1871, but the promise was soon set aside. The people there offered the Company as an inducement nearly 6,000 acres of land, several hundred town lots, and a few thousand dollars. An even more generous offer afterwards was made by Seattle. Tacoma's offer was made through and by General McCarver. He had secured a vast acreage with unbroken waterfront, and, quite as important, he had interested with him a number of men prominent in the councils and service of the Northern Pacific Company. He offered them the Delin and Galliher claims, Judson's, Starr's, his own, King's, Nash's, the mill property, and much more. Richard D. Rice and John C. Ainsworth, Directors of the Company, were commissioned to make such examinations of the different places as by them were deemed necessary, to receive propositions, and to determine for the Company its Puget Sound terminal point. For this purpose they met at Steilacoom in July. Everything being considered, they decided, on the 14th, "that the terminus of the main line of the Northern Pacific Railroad on Puget Sound be established on the south side of Commencement Bay, in Township 21, Range 3 East of the Willamette Meridian." The Commissioners immediately started for Portland, but on the way sent a telegram full of thrilling import to Tacomans, as follows:

Kalama, July 14, 1873.

"To General M. M. McCarver, Tacoma City:

"We have located the terminus on Commencement Bay.

"R. D. RICE.
"JOHN C. AINSWORTH.
"Commissioners."

September 10, the Board of Directors of the Company, by formal resolution, approved the action of Commissioners Rice and Ainsworth in locating the terminus, as follows:

"Resolved, That the N. P. R. R. Company locate and construct its main road to a point on Puget Sound on the southerly side of Commencement Bay, in Township 21 North, Range 3 East of Willamette Meridian, and within the limits of the city of Tacoma, which point in said city of Tacoma is declared to be the Western terminus of the main line of the Northern Pacific Railroad."

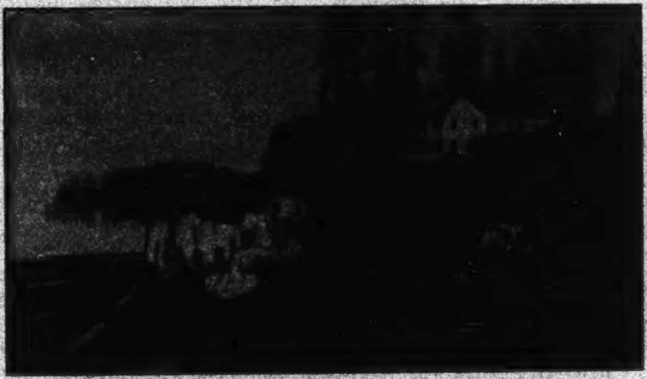
Thirtieth Street (then Second), Tacoma, in 1873

THE RAILROAD REACHES THE BAY

WITH much concern, this was the event that thousands of people had been looking forward to. They had long intended to identify themselves with the chief city on Puget Sound, which they had no doubt would be the place selected by the Northern Pacific Company for its terminus. They instantly began moving to Tacoma. Agencies and branch establishments were set up; more steamers came; tents were raised on vacant lots, for which $1 per front foot was paid each month; new houses sprang up on other lots, and all were quickly taken. It was a time of wild excitement. Visions of vast wealth and great population in the new city were seen by all. One railroad man of prominence and intelligence publicly declared that in ten years 250,000 people would be living in Tacoma. Unfortunately for the hundreds of men who rushed in here then, and for the success of their enterprises, a marked stringency in the money affairs of the nation became painfully apparent in the latter part of the summer, which developed into a financial panic in September, and which in turn caused the failure of the Company's money agents, Jay Cooke & Co., and later the bankruptcy of the Northern Pacific itself. This in turn meant reduction or suspension of railroad operations, delay, hard times, disappointment, doubt, a struggle for life and other like features of disagreeable character. The rush to Tacoma stopped, and after a while more people left the town than came to it. There was still hope, but it was of the kind that maketh the heart sick. The Company struggled on with its road, grading down to the bay, laying ties and rails, and doing the most it could with the little money at its command. In the latter part of November there was a strike for their wages on the part of the unpaid laborers at Lakeview, who seized the railroad and prevented work until their claims were settled. December 16 the rails reached their appointed end, and at 3 P. M. that day, General McCarver drove the last spike. The steamers Alida and Black Diamond were there with many spectators, as also the first train from the south drawn by the locomotives General Cass and Otter Tail. The only passengers on the incoming train were Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Blackwell, and the only freight was his furniture, intended for the railroad hotel soon after opened by Blackwell & Kelly in the Company's building on the wharf. The train left for the south as soon as the ceremony was over, taking as passengers General J. W. Sprague, Theodore Hosmer and wife, Harry Cooke, and Ezra Meeker and wife. It also took a little freight, some fish shipped by Shorts & Ludwig, and furs by Mr. Meeker.

THE PIONEER NEWSPAPER

THE Pacific Tribune was moved from Olympia by its publisher, Thomas W. Prosch, the first week in August, and on the 9th of the month he got out Tacoma's first newspaper. It was a four-page sheet, five columns to the page, issued each evening. He also printed a weekly, the first number appearing on the 16th, and it being double the size of the daily. The columns of the Tribune gave evidence of the existence in Tacoma in 1873 of the business houses of Johnstone Brothers, Hosford & Orchard, McMartin & Crawford, L. Wolff, Ezra Meeker, Messegee & Robbins, Hoffman & Frost, Whipple & Hildreth, Hanson, Ackerson & Co., Haslam & Co., and A. Walters, carrying on various lines of mercantile traffic; Morris Dobrin, tailor; J. E. Whitworth, teamster; A. B. Rabbeson, architect; James E. Williamson and William P. Byrd, livery stable keepers; H. E. Griffin & Co., builders; H. C. Willison, physician; Hazard Stevens, abstracts of title; the Steele hotel; Diller & Fretland, restaurant; A. C. Campbell, blacksmith; Cooke Brothers, bankers; Robert G. Hays, W. F. & Co.'s express agent; L. W. Kribs, wagon shop; J. B. Wren, boats to let, also wood for sale; Dooley & Chambers, butchers; Shorts & Ludwig, fish market; Ferry, Wood-



The H. A. & Co. Mill, Store and Wharf and Steel Hotel, Tacoma, in 1873 ward & Co., Chapman & Potter, and C. H. Botsford, real estate; Kaufman & Levin, John Craig and J. Bowers, saloons; John Dougherty, cobbler; steamer Alida, Northern Pacific Company, and the Freeport mill and Hanson, Ackerson & Co., dealers in lumber.

CHURCH ENTERPRISE

LATTER half of July the church interests began to develop in Tacoma of a permanent character. The Protestant Episcopalians made a start. They were enabled to do this by the presence of a clergyman eager and ready to enter upon the field, and who had all the needed money to inaugurate the work. This was the Rev. Charles R. Bonnell. Accompanied and aided by Bishop Morris, he secured a lot on Starr Street from Mr. E. S. Smith, and there built the house, which stands to-day one of the most attractive and picturesque objects in the city. It was opened to divine worship on Sunday, August 10th. A week or two later Rev. George H. Atkinson, of Portland, having general charge of Congregational church missionary affairs and extensions, brought a large tent to Tacoma, in which many religious services were held. This tent was succeeded by a frame building in the fall, called the Reading Room, and in which there was also divine worship for a number of years. In recognition of his Christian efforts, the Atkinson Memorial Church was built in after years. Too much cannot be said of Dr. Atkinson and his religious work.

TELEGRAPH; WHARF; WATERWORKS; CIRCUS

MANY new things were received by Tacoma in 1873. About the beginning of the year a loop line of telegraph was put in from Steilacoom, and an office opened in the mill store, with W. E. Ackerson as operator. It stayed there one year, when it was moved to the railroad depot and placed under charge of an operator named Whittlesey, the line being changed to the right-of-way of the Northern Pacific.

In September, D. B. Hannah, John S. Hill and M. M. McCarver built the first public wharf, at the foot of McCarver Street, and put in the first public water works.

September 10th Wilson's Grand Parisian Circus and Menagerie gave the first performance of the kind indicated by the name, charging adults one dollar and children half a dollar to see it. Its tents were well filled.

STRUGGLES OF MASONIC LODGE

AT THE session of the Masonic Grand Lodge in Olympia, during September, 1873, Clinton P. Ferry and others petitioned for a dispensation to form a new lodge at Tacoma, which was granted on the 4th. Robert Frost was made Master; George E. Atkinson, Senior Warden, and S. F. Sahm, Junior Warden. Rooms were obtained and meetings held for a time, but the lodge did not thrive; it soon became financially embarrassed, and then disorganized. Its moribund condition was taken notice of at the Grand Lodge session of 1874, when Tacoma Lodge was authorized at New Tacoma, as successor to the lodge first projected. This action seems to have been ill-advised, as the men appointed to open the lodge declined the charter, saying that they belonged to other jurisdictions, and that it was impossible for them to serve; that they had not been consulted in the matter, and that they regretted the mistake, but that they in no sense were responsible for it. In September, 1875, a dispensation was granted for Golden Rule Lodge, with J. S. Walker, Samuel Wilkeson, and Ed. McCall as officers. This Lodge became No. 22 in the Territory. Its name was changed to Tacoma subsequently. It has enjoyed marked prosperity, and has long been one of the three strong Masonic Lodges of the State.

TOWN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED

TACOMA'S first town election was held June 8, 1874. The new government had been authorized by the County Commissioners. People's, Citizens and Independent tickets were in the field. Job Carr, A. C. Campbell, J. W. Chambers, A. Walters and A. C. Howes were elected Trustees. Howes refused to qualify, and Joseph R. Ralston was appointed in his stead. Job Carr was made President; W. H. McCann, Clerk; Leonard Diller, Marshal; and George

E. Atkinson, Treasurer. The first step taken was the presentation of a vigorous protest to Delegate McFadden against the threatened removal of the postoffice to New Tacoma, and calling upon him to do what he could to prevent such action; also to the Postmaster General denouncing such contemplated removal, and asking that it be not permitted. This government continued several years, and to the end was faithful in all matters to the interests it represented.

THE PLATTING OF NEW TACOMA

IMMEDIATELY following the location of the terminus, work on the townsite began. The land—two thousand acres obtained from General McCarver—belonged to the Lake Superior & Puget Sound Land Company, which was attached to the Railroad Company through the mutual and associated interests of the stockholders. Though the land had been logged off, there was yet standing a great deal of small timber of inferior quality, and dead timber and brush, besides stumps, fallen trees, and other woody matter. By the 15th of August all was down and ready for the torch, which that day was applied in many places. A most extensive and magnificent conflagration resulted, completely killing all vegetation, but not by any means destroying all the stumps and logs. General James Tilton was the engineer in charge for a month or two, with E. S. Smith and Theodore Hosmer as advisers. The building of the wharf was intrusted to H. A. Atkins, who completed it so that it was available for vessels December 16, on the day the rails and engines reached it from the south. The grading of Pacific Avenue from the wharf to the hill top began about the end of August. There can be no question that the managers of the Company seriously blundered in their doings about this time. Their wharf should have been as close to the mill as practicable, and the lots first offered for sale should have been in the same vicinity. In this way there would have been but one town, which would have made quite a show for those days. By the plan adopted there were for several years four small, separated, straggling, struggling communities, each with its own independent concerns, each antagonistic to the others, and each doing what it could for itself that too frequently was opposed to the general weal. These four places soon became known as the Old Town, the Mill Town, the Railroad Wharf, and the New Town. Had the other plan been adopted the Company would have made more money, a vast deal of misery would have been prevented, and Tacoma to-day would have been a larger city. General Tilton was discharged, and the platting of the town was removed to New York, where it was left to that eminent landscape gardener, Fred Law Olmstead. In three months he had devised and put on paper the most fantastic and astonishing plat of a town that ever was seen. It covered a thousand acres, two miles along the front of the hill top. Everything was curvilinear. There wasn't a straight street, a right angle, or a corner lot. The blocks were shaped like melons, pears, and sweet potatoes. Some were short and others were long. One block, shaped like a banana, was 3,000 feet in length, and had 250 lots. The lots were 25 feet wide, but were all sorts of lengths, averaging 180 feet. It was a pretty fair park plan. It generally condemned itself for a town. There were some suggestions in it of value, which were adopted in the plat subsequently prepared by Isaac W. Smith and Philip G. Eastwick. By the time the third attempt was completed nine months had elapsed since the 14th of

The beginning of New Tacoma in the Fall of 1873

July. In the meantime the people had become discouraged and some had gone away. The winter was a cold one, and there was much suffering in the tents and shacks of the new town. The Company allowed the men waiting to select their lots, and occupy them, with a prior right to purchase assured them. In this way the town on the hill, "the New Town," had its beginning. John Dougherty, the cobbler, was one of the first. George W. Fairhurst had a boarding house early in the fall, and before winter had the American Hotel. The Nixon, California and Mountaineer boarding houses were not far behind; the Cogswells before long had a stable; George T. Vining opened a butcher shop; F. Carmichael had a news and cigar stand; there was even a public hall, called the Rainier. Peter Irving was on the ground, George N. Alexander, Harry Algar, Frank Alling, Walter Burritt, and not very long after were George F. Orchard, Jacob Halstead, and others. Some of these men had wives and children with them. By the 31st of January, 1874, there were twenty-one so-called houses standing on Pacific Avenue, and by the 15th of April, when the Company was ready to sell its lots, there were more and better houses. Prices of lots were fixed by J. W. Sprague, J. C. Ainsworth, Theodore Hosmer and George B. Hibbard. They were reasonable, and the sale was comparatively rapid. The Tacoma Land Company, which had recently been organized and come into management of the townsite, made active, systematic and intelligent efforts to foster its town. It gave away many lots to religious and like organizations. It gave free excursions on the railroad to the people; it encouraged the opening of roads to the country; it led off in enterprises of many kinds. Its plat of New Tacoma, joint with the Lake Superior & Puget Sound Land Company, was filed February 3, 1875.

NEW TACOMA BECOMES A TOWN

NEW TACOMA, as it was now officially called, grew rapidly for a time. A number of people in the old town moved over. The operation of the railroad added several others. The Land Company erected an office building and gave employment to more men. A new man would come occasionally, led by the confidence inspired by the actual presence of the railroad, notwithstanding the otherwise dark outlook. In the new town, early in 1874, in addition to those already named, were William H. Fife, Louis Levin, David Levin, Clinton P. Ferry, T. Pitt Cooke, H. Dell Cooke, Theodore Hosmer, George B. Hibbard, Z. J. Hatch, J. R. Wheat, A. Von Schroder, J. S. Walker, J. H. McGrath, Samuel Wilkeson, E. S. Smith, George Kelly, B. E. Craig, J. Oliver, —— Anderson, S. F. Sahm, Lemuel Root, Sing Lee, —— Smith, —— Brown, P. G. Eastiwck, W. B. Stilwell, Jacob Mann, and others whose names are not now remembered. Many of these people had wives, children and other relatives with them. Anderson was father of the first child born. Smith's Hall was the best place in town for social affairs, religious services and meetings. The trains, of mixed freight and passenger cars, left at 5:30 in the morning and arrived at 6:30 in the evening. Mail route agents were soon needed, N. S. Pierce being the first employed, and J. H. Welch the second. The wharf settlement included Blackwell & Kelly's Hotel, Ingalls & McGrath's store, Dyer & White's fish market, Sing Lee's wash house, Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express office, the Western Union telegraph office, and offices of the railroad people. The first death was that of the child of George N. Alexander. William H. Fife built a house on Tuesday and moved into it on Wednesday. When he shortly after built another and better house, the first one was used for a wood house.

TERMINUS SCHOOL DISTRICT

THE first election, properly enough, was for the purpose of securing a public school district. It was held on the 21st of January, 1874. Fifteen votes were cast. J. Oliver, George W. Fairhurst, and Jacob Halstead were elected Directors, and B. E. Craig, Clerk. The officers-elect presented the matter to John V. Meeker, County School Superintendent, January 24, asking for the division of District 10 and the creation of a new district in the southern portion thereof. April 4, after a formal hearing, "Terminus School District No. 13" was ordered established by the Superintendent, with directors and clerk as chosen by the people. The town people could not wait so long for the school they wanted, however, and to gratify them Mr. B. E. Craig opened one on the 1st of March, with eight pupils. The second term of school was opened by Wilson Guess, September 20, and the third early in 1875 by Miss Virginia McCarver, by which time the school was comfortably housed, in a building erected in conjunction with the Masons, who occupied the upper floor. Not until 1877 did New Tacoma become so important a district as either Steilacoom or Tacoma. That year Tacoma reported 100 children of school age, Steilacoom 104, New Tacoma 135. The public money was distributed accordingly. In the subsequent consolidation of the two Tacomas, District No. 10 absorbed No. 13.

RELIGIOUS EFFORTS AMONG THE FIRST

THE first religious service in the new town was held in the dining room of the California Hotel, January 25, 1874, by Rev. George H. Atkinson, Congregationalist. His text was from the twenty-fifth verse of the eighth chapter of Luke: "What manner of man is this?" His congregation numbered twenty-one persons. In April following Dr. Atkinson moved his large tent from the old town to the new, and in it was at once organized the first Sunday school, with W. B. Stilwell as superintendent and Z. J. Hatch, assistant; William H. Fife, treasurer; George B. Hibbard, librarian, and M. Angel, assistant; teachers, Misses Fife, Barker and Halstead; Messrs. Hibbard and Hatch. May 18 the Protestant Episcopalians, led by Bishop Morris and Rev. C. R. Bonnell, with church members, took formal possession of a piece of ground offered them by the Company, and thereafter held services from time to time in New Tacoma. A Presbyterian clergyman, named A. B. Nicholson, preached a number of times in Smith's Hall during the first half of 1874. These were the first public efforts of religious character in this portion of Tacoma.

POSTOFFICE; FOURTH OF JULY; BASEBALL; ROADMAKING

JULY the postoffice of New Tacoma was established, with W. H. Fife as postmaster, in his store on the corner of Pacific Avenue and Ninth Street. It became quite an important office, owing to its being the place of connection of mails by rail and steamer. It was made the distributing office for the lower Sound, and soon the old town office was supplied from it.

The first Fourth of July celebration was held this year—1874. It was on the Indian Reservation, and was under the direction of mixed committees of whites and Indians. Dr. S. Hemmenway was the orator, Rev. George W. Sloan the reader. D. C. Beatty was marshal, and Spot his assistant. General Milroy and Rev. John R. Thompson made short speeches. Among the committeemen and women were Messrs. George W. Sloan, J. E. Whitworth, John Flett, Mrs. Beatty, Mrs. Hemmenway, Mrs. Dittman, Mrs. Joe, Mrs. Bob, Thom, Dick, Napoleon First and Napoleon Second. They had so good a time that the second Tacoma celebration was also held there, on the Fourth of July, 1875.

Baseball made a start in 1874. The Tacoma Invincibles were organized on the 8th of August, and on the 20th had their first and last game, a six-inning one, in which the scores were 29 and 28 runs. Kribs was captain of one nine, and Palmer of the other. The players included Hatch, Fife, Stilwell, Cogswell, Forbes, Bingham, and others well known in those days.

Another form of entertainment that summer was roadmaking. Led by Peter Irving, the men of New Tacoma volunteered their services several days, during which they cut and graded a roadway thirty feet wide from South Eighth Street to the old county road near the prairie. The ladies of the town furnished the workers lunches at noon and suppers in the evening. The improvement could not have been secured at that time in any other way.

TACOMA A CITY

BUT THIS statement of events of the earlier days must close. Things thereafter came so many and so quickly that their continued detail is impossible. The town grew; it secured a municipal government; it was made the county seat; manufactories, great stores and brick buildings appeared; the two towns became one, to the betterment of both places and all peoples, and Tacoma was a city, one of the finest in the land. Other historians will tell of these wonderful things, and of this wonderful city in other days.

POPULARITY OF THE NEW TACOMA

IN CONCLUSION, a few words may well be offered as to the name Tacoma. In the beginning it was yours, all yours. It belonged here, and here alone. It is not so now. It now belongs to the world, and is found in many ports, lands, and places. So popular has the name become that it is officially adopted in eight different States of the Union. The United States Postal Guide for 1905 testifies that there are Tacomas in Florida, Kentucky, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Texas, Virginia and Washington. In addition to these, in the District of Columbia is Takoma Park. The favor which Tacoma has found is not confined to postoffice or town names by any means, but is even more common in Tacoma avenues and Tacoma buildings in the towns and cities of the country at large. Nor is this fame limited to the United States. In the ports of Australia, Asia, Africa, Europe, and in the islands may be found numerous ships bearing this popular designation. Fourteen American vessels are called Tacoma. Strangely enough, not a single one is registered with the city of Tacoma as its home port. They include two barges, one schooner, one sail ship, four paddle steamers, five screw steamers and one warship, the thirteen belonging to the Merchant Marine being documented from San Francisco, Port Townsend, Cleveland, Portland, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Michael and Seattle. It is not strange, under the circumstances, that you are attached to the name. A good name is a priceless possession. No other town has a better one than Tacoma.

St. Peter's

Tacoma's First Church

ST. PETER'S, TACOMA'S FIRST CHURCH

THE first church in Tacoma was the plain little wooden building still standing on Starr Street, in the First Ward, erected in the summer of 1873, when the whole of the town was within three hundred yards of its location. Incident to the coming of the Northern Pacific Railroad, Tacoma was then in the midst of an excitement of the character that has since come to be denominated as a "boom." People were going to the town in large numbers, and daily new and additional lines of business were being established. During the five years the town had been in existence a number of Methodist, Presbyterian, Catholic and Episcopal clergymen had paid visits to it, and many religious services had been held in it. The time had not yet come for the erection of a house of worship, they evidently thought, as no movement to undertake a work of that kind had been made by them. Adding the railroad to its sawmill and its lesser lines of trade would make a difference beyond a doubt, and the village of 200 souls would probably become a smart town of 2,000 or more within a twelvemonth, and a city of 20,000 or more in perhaps five years. This was a thought commonly and frequently expressed, and was one entertained by Right Reverend Benjamin Wistar Morris, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Missionary Jurisdiction of Oregon and Washington. Full of vigor, religious enterprise and zeal, he lost no time in covering the new field. The week after the terminus was officially fixed at Tacoma, he was on the ground, and on Sunday, July 27th, he conducted a service and preached in the school house. Two days afterwards he selected and secured from Mr. Edward S. Smith a piece of ground upon which was built the church.

The Bishop had in his mind for minister at the new and promising point the Rev. Chas. R. Bonnell, who for some time had been serving the parishioners of St. David's Church, in East Portland, now Portland. Mr. Bonnell promptly accepted the charge, and was at work before the departure for home of the Bishop. He was fortunate in having a good brother-in-law, named Houston, in Philadelphia, who was pecuniarily well off, and who was generous to his reverend relative. From him Mr. Bonnell then had $500 in hand, for application at his discretion to any religious work or purpose at the railroad terminal point. Having the lot and the money, it was not necessary for him to ask help from any one, and he at once built the church after his own plan, in his own way, and from his own funds. In ten days he had it so nearly finished that the people were called into it for the first religious services on Sunday, August 10th. The day was one of Puget Sound's best. There was general acceptance of the invitation to attend and participate. The occasion was memorable, one that should find place among the distinguished and honorable events of the city's history. A Sunday school was organized the same day, at the same place, and under the same auspices. Mr. Bonnell was in general charge, and was in a condition of elation, spiritual and mental, of high character. He, by the way, always termed the house a "chapel." The vestrymen were Messrs. George E. Atkinson, Charles Prosch, C. H. Botsford and T. Pitt Cooke. The second Board consisted of Messrs. Atkinson, Cooke and Prosch, as before, with H. D. Cooke and J. W. Perry added. Messrs. Atkinson and Prosch were the two Wardens. In later years the two Wardens often conducted services as lay readers in the absence of clergymen.

At the first Convocation following, held in Portland August 29th and 30th, St. Peter's was represented by Mr. Bonnell and Mr. T. P. Cooke, at which the articles of association were presented, signed by Messrs. C. H. Botsford, Charles Prosch, W. J. S. Tuckwell, James Tilton, Wm. P. Byrd, Thomas Savage, George E. Atkinson, C. P. Ferry, T. P. Cooke, Harry D. Cooke, J. Ellison Ebey, A. M. Adams, S. C. Howes, J. B. Wren, A. D. Rowell, B. Barlow, Philip G. Eastwick, Mrs. L. E. I. Hosmer, Mrs. L. E. Carlton, Miss Delia M. Howes (Dumas), Miss Virginia McCarver (Prosch), and Miss Elizabeth M. McCarver (Harris). Mr. Bonnell reported for the new church as follows:

"The increase of population which followed the selection of a site for the western terminus of the new Pacific railroad, adjoining Tacoma, brought Bishop Morris to this place. His first service was held in the school house on the 27th of July, 1873. On the next Sunday I took charge of the services, and on the Sunday following they were held in a neat wooden chapel which had been built since the Bishop's visit. This report covers only four weeks."

St. Peter's Church, in 1874, with stump bell tower

The Convention next was held in this modest little church in January, 1874. Then, on Tuesday evening, the 20th, the first confirmation class was presented to Bishop Morris, the members being Mr. Atkinson and Mrs. W. R. Kahlow. May Buckalew Ferry, a child, was the first person baptized in St. Peter's.

In the erection of a small dwelling for the minister, buying furniture for the church and otherwise, a debt of $160 was contracted, which bore heavily on the congregation in 1874. An organ costing $120 was received on the 21st of August. A week later a festival was held at which $100 was cleared. The debts were soon paid. October 11th a bell weighing 965 pounds was received as a gift from the children of St. Peter's Church of Philadelphia. On the 18th it was rung for the first service, conducted by the Rev. P. E. Hyland. It then was on the ground. During the following week a tree that stood beside the church had the top cut off by two expert axmen, H. N. Steel and A. J. Babcock, in accordance with a suggestion of Mr. Bonnell's, and upon the top of the stump, 48 feet high, was placed the bell, from which eminence it has ever since loudly and clearly pealed forth calls for the townspeople to assemble in the church below. Later ivy was planted at the foot of the stump by one of the good churchwomen, and has since so grown over it as to entirely conceal it from view, and in addition has pushed its vines over and into the church as well.

It soon was realized that there was to be another town two miles away, which might become a greater town than the Tacoma in which St. Peter's was situated. Setting aside every feeling of jealousy, and acting in the interest of the whole church, the rector, assisted by his vestrymen and congregation, and led by the Bishop, took formal possession of a plot of ground in the other town, called New Tacoma, on the 18th of May, 1874. A dozen men were employed to clear the ground, to whom were given assistance by the members of the congregation. Some grading was also done. The exercises were improvised for the occasion, and were impromptu. The ground was marched over in formal procession, the people saying the creed at the time, and a stake was driven at the spot where the corner stone was to be laid. There was also singing, and, of course, a lunch.

Mr. Bonnell remained with the "chapel" one year, when he removed to a larger field of usefulness. As long as he lived the first church at Tacoma held a warm place in his heart. In 1876 he presented it with a baptismal font that is yet in use.

Though aside from the purpose of this narrative, it may be said that Mr. Bonnell's last religious charge was at Manayunk, Philadelphia, as rector of the new church of St. Stephen. Somewhat remarkably, he died there, in 1890, on St. Stephen's day, which, more singularly still, happened to be the anniversary of his own birth. Fifteen years later, on St. Stephen's day of 1905, a window illustrative of the life and death of the martyred patron Saint was unveiled in this church in memory of its revered first minister, Charles R. Bonnell.

CHARLES R. BONNELL
Tacoma's First Resident Clergyman

In the vicissitudes of the place, St. Peter's Church has necessarily shared. Its part of the city has not developed and grown as rapidly as was anticipated, or as rapidly as other portions. Its door has been open all the time, however, to citizen and stranger alike, and a company beyond numbering have found shelter, comfort and welcome within its unpretentious walls. The church could not do more than it has done under the circumstances surrounding and connected with it. Four Bishops have had it under their care—Morris, Paddock, Barker and Keator—and not far from twenty ministers have been officially connected with it for longer or shorter periods. It will always be interesting to Tacomans as the first church of their city, while to Episcopalians it will have the added interest of being the Mother Church, the beginning of their great establishment in Tacoma. Though retiring and unassuming, St. Peter's, with its aged and unique ivy-covered tower, its pioneer experience and local precedence, attracts more attention, and is more frequently sought and more often pictured than the larger and more costly houses of worship that have since followed it. In every respect is it worthy the popular regard evinced for it.

St. Peter's Church, with ivy-covered bell tower, as it now is

In August, 1898, its twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated by appropriate services in the church, then under the charge of the Rev. James Cheal, and by a social affair at the home of Mrs. Jane A. Walters. Five years later there was a somewhat similar observance, at the home of Mr. W. H. Harris, when the rector, Rev. A. E. Bernays, delivered an address and read letters from a number of clergymen formerly connected with St. Peter's, and in addition were presented papers bearing upon the history of the church by three of the persons connected with it thirty years before—Mr. Atkinson, Mrs. Prosch and Mrs. Harris.